THE EXPERIENCES OF A PLANTER

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GOVERNMENT

By ROBERT H. ELLIOT.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND A MAP.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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EXPERIENCES OF A PLANTER.

VOL. II.

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ILLUSTRATIONS TO VOL. II.

The Illustration on the Frontispiece gives the reader a group of men and women of the two agricultural castes in Munzerabad. The two figures on the reader's left are admirably done, and are good likenesses. Of these the one on the extreme left is a vegetarian farmer, who is dressed in cotton instead of with the usual blanket. Next to him is a very fine old fellow of the meat-eating farmer caste, and a very fine specimen of his class too, though rather short. Of the other figures the boy seated on the reader's left, and the man on the right, are far from being likenesses, but the other figures have been successfully copied.

The Second Illustration gives a group consisting of three of the meat-eating farmer caste and a tody-drawer. The figure squatting on the reader's right is a good likeness; the two figures in the centre, who are holding my guns, are, however, not at all successful; and the figure seated on the left, though presenting a fair degree of resemblance, is far from being a good likeness.

The Third Illustration gives the singular cardamom-plant with its seeds, which are borne on racemes running along the ground, and which, by some accident, have been termed rhizomes in the text.

The last Illustration has been really very faithfully executed. My guide, however, has been made a trifle better-looking than the original, and the polyandrous female is (if I may judge by the photograph which I procured when on the Neilgherry Hills) not quite so good-looking as the original.

ERRATUM.

Vol. II., p. 193, line 12, *for* "rhizomes" *read* "racemes."

EXPERIENCES OF A PLANTER.

CHAPTER VIII.

EDUCATION.

DEAN TRENCH has laid down with admirable clearness the difference between two words which are often used as if they were exactly of the same value. He has pointed out that education is one thing, and instruction another; and at the outset of the remarks I have to make on the development of the Indians, I think it necessary, or at least advisable, to clearly define terms that are so often confused.

To educate, then, is simply to educe, or lead out, what a man has in him; while instruction simply means building in, in the sense of furnishing, and is a process like that of loading a ship or filling a cistern. To educate a man is to develop his mental resources, and that can only be done by action. You may instruct, and fill, and load to the brim, with the result, not of opening the fountains of the mind, but perhaps of choking them altogether. Without moral forces and mental friction there may be instruction, but there can be no education. And it therefore follows that a man may be very well instructed, and yet very ill educated. He

may be fully crammed, and yet entirely undeveloped. And, in truth, the education of books is the least part of education. But we may even go further than this, and assert that, as has been well observed, nothing tends to weaken the powers of the mind so much as an extensive course of reading without reflection, or without practically exercising the faculties of the mind. When books are pleasant and plentiful, people will read and read, they will fill themselves and instruct themselves; but in the end they will become like oxen which browse and browse, and require to be ever among the pastures. Reflection, comparison, doubting, consideration, are all more or less troublesome. It is easy to allow ideas and statements of facts to drift across the mind, to believe, and to forget. But the general result of what we call education mainly comes to this, namely, that while a few improve and reflect, the great majority read, and read, and rust. And the reasons for this are sufficiently obvious, for ninety-nine men out of a hundred, or we may even say nine hundred and ninety-nine out of a thousand, have no occasion to really exercise their faculties, and as long as that is the case, unconsciously, and in spite of all his efforts, does man remain mentally in the mud.

Let pressure, then, for one moment, be withdrawn, and the necessities and incentives for exertion be relaxed, and the human animal will steadily drift down the current. He will drop the mental and take to the physical. You will find plenty of savages in North America, and in many a jungle; in the middle ranks of civilised life savagedom materially diminishes; but amongst the idlers in the Row you will find the original animal cropping up with extraordinary severity. In

truth, there is no savage like your West-end savage. This may seem to be going too far, and, in short, to be something approaching to exaggeration. Is it so? Wait a moment. Let us take your savage lounger, with an income above contempt, and below the mark that entails some sort of moral incentive to exertion, and let us glance for one moment at what the man of that description does, and see how far his general liking and pursuits revert to savagedom. The man of that sort likes plenty of animal food, and not a little alcohol, and so, to commence with, does his brother savage. Your fashionable savage loves to gamble, and gamble he commonly does, to the destruction of himself, and often to the ruin of his family. Owing to slightly altered conditions, and to the fact of his natural propensities being restricted by the law, he does not gamble away his wife and scalp, but he goes as far as he can towards imitating his brother savage. The principal pleasure, again, of the savages under consideration is to excite themselves violently, and then lie quiet in a blissful state of repose, lulled and soothed by the fumes of tobacco. Nor, because one man lies on a sofa, and the other on a sand-bank, is the resemblance at all the less perfect. It has often been observed that your gentleman and your jungle savage agree in the suppression of all signs of emotion. They alike excel in their ability to consume putrid meat,—I mean high game. Even as regards the most debasing superstitions has the likeness at least a tendency to resemblance, and the peculiar seat of spirit-rapping and table-turning is to be found in Belgravia. It would be wearisome to pursue the comparison any further, and enough has now been said to illustrate this fact, namely, that if you withdraw the

necessity and stimulus to exertion from Englishmen, the great majority of them will, by a natural process of atavism, revert to the original type of their barbarous ancestors, as readily as the Pariah dog of India reverts to the habits of his wolfish progenitors.

Turning now from Englishmen to Englishwomen, we shall at once have an excellent example of the different results of instruction and education. We take great pains with the instruction of our women, and yet they are, for the most part, entirely uneducated and completely undeveloped. Article upon article, and book upon book, have been written on the subject of female education. Miss Beale, the principal of the Ladies' College at Cheltenham, says that girls leave school too young, and that they are taken home for the going-out stage at the age of seventeen or eighteen. A little later she assumes that a power of thought and independent study would have been gained, a taste for good reading formed, or a love of some special science acquired. In consequence, it appears, of this premature removal, the girl simply becomes bored because she has not adopted the pursuits that characterise superior persons. The appetite for wholesome food fails, and the desire for stimulants is increased. The stimulants are found in foolish novels, silly conversation, petty scandal, sensational dresses, and goodness knows what besides. All these things Miss Beale calls husks, and laments that to be reduced to such food should often be the lot of many a noble character.

By some, again, scientific studies of a physical nature are strongly recommended, and a thoroughly elementary knowledge of such subjects, it is strongly urged, should be let into the mind as deeply as possible. Others are

of opinion that history is especially to be recommended, as having a tendency to lift young ladies into other spheres, and, in short, to carry them clean away from the paltry gossip of the feminine circle. That, at least, will show them that, as the opinions of the past have been reversed, the opinions of the present are liable in turn to the same fate. Then they will learn a lesson as to the mutability of affairs in general, and will, moreover, be *conclusively taught not to overvalue things that* people commonly attach a great deal of importance to. Then history is somehow to teach them to discern character, a faculty of discernment much needed by young ladies, who are very apt to attach heroic qualities to people who have merely acquired a commanding air by ordering other people about. Some say that women lean much upon clergymen, and that from their lips they will suck in the precious oil, and that therefore you must, above all things, improve, elevate, and enlarge the minds of your parish priests. Others, again, will have it that the governesses are all wrong and contracted, and hence fail properly to expand the minds intrusted to their charge. To remedy this they would like to see all intending governesses sent to college, and prohibit all these from practising the art of teaching unless they could show a satisfactory diploma. This process would at least exclude the incompetent, and secure a fair amount of good average knowledge. Finally and practically come the women of England themselves, and by their own acts proclaim what most people know, but which few are courageous enough to declare. They distinctly and emphatically assert that "improvement for improvement's sake won't work, and can never satisfy us; we want action, and unless we have those

incentives to exertion which men have, we shall stick for ever exactly where we are." It cannot be doubted that they are right, and it is difficult to imagine a harder case. Life slipping away, energies wasted and blasted, and nothing left but the prospect of turning into what, in Scotland, we term an Edinburgh tabby. As a young lady in whom I am interested said to me not very long ago, "It is even better to be married and ill-treated than to be an old maid, slighted if poor, and wished dead if rich." But however all this may be, it is certain that though women may have the education of books, they cannot have the education of life. To them the avenues of ambition are for the most part closed, and they must be content to let their faculties "fast unused," and—that is all that can be said.

What I have just been saying is as old as the hills, but it will serve to illustrate the general principle that man is a natural-born savage, upon whom mere instruction cannot materially act, and who requires constant friction not only to develop his faculties, but to keep them from decaying. Women, as we have seen, not having the opportunities of men, are what they are.

Now, the women of England may think their case a hard one, but I think I can point to one much harder. Women may at least console themselves with the reflection that they may have household duties to attend to homes to keep in order, the education of children to be commenced, and that, in the ordinary course of things there is at least a fair chance of their filling a useful position in the society of the State. They may have souls above all this, but they must admit that any necessary duties, however humble, are better than none and I think I can show them that, comparatively

speaking, their lot is by no means so desperate as many women would like to have it supposed. If it is an advantage to look up, it is also an advantage to look down for one moment, just to see how many are worse off than ourselves; and if the ladies of England will only go with me to India, I will show them entire races of men—of shrewd, keen-witted men—the best of whom are lying like logs, dead and inert, without hope and without incentive, with nothing to do at home, and nothing to look forward to in the world. Now, in one respect, at least, the women of England and the best of the Indians are in the same boat. We may talk of educating them both, but in the nature of things we can only instruct them. The Hindoos at school are apt learners, but when they return to their homes, and when their education is supposed to be completed, their talents seem to be suddenly cut short, and a frost seems, as it were, to cut short and wither up these promising young buds. They talk of improving, of making serious efforts, of pushing forward their countrymen in the paths of progress, and leading forward their race to a glorious inheritance. The literary and scientific triumphs of Europe are to be theirs without effort and with little labour. They lay their hands upon their hearts and say, "Your Shakespeare is our Shakespeare, your Milton our Milton, and your Newton our Newton." To hear them declaim in our language with a fluency and accuracy which we contemplate with envy, it seems difficult at the moment to refrain from believing that the eloquent Baboo is not at once going to start on his career of conquest. But he talks, and sinks back, and ends by doing nothing. Now, this tendency to talk and do nothing has been frequently observed, and so commonly does man take refuge in

supposed inherent differences of race to account for what he cannot readily comprehend, that it has been thought that there must be some fibre wanting in the system of the Hindoos, and that, in short, they are not as other men. But if we would only believe it, the laws of human nature are the same everywhere, and the eternal principle that requires powerful motives for exertion is the same under an Eastern as under a Western sky. Your Hindoo lad goes to school, he is an apt learner, curiosity leads him on, and he rapidly progresses. In a natural state of things, curiosity being satisfied, ambition would take its place, and an honourable career be sought and pursued. Prizes in the army, in the political world, in the law, and in literature would stimulate his faculties, and, in obedience to his natural instincts, he would do what his fellow-man does here. But the prospect of rising to distinction in active life is practically hopeless; and as for literature, to whom is he to address himself? If he writes in a foreign language, no one but a few of his college friends would go to the trouble to read his works; and if he writes in his own, he is necessarily confined to the same narrow audience. The masses are too far below him to understand him, and he would be left to labour for the benefit of the most limited circle of his countrymen. Under these desponding and cheerless circumstances he naturally sinks into a dreary state of indifference. Those faculties which have been aroused by curiosity soon rust, and the state of that man is probably worse than it was at first. Now, our Indian rulers have seen all this; they deplore the existing state of things; and, to do them justice, I believe they are trying to remedy them after their own fashion. With this view they have made a commencement in the only line

that to them seemed a tolerably feasible one. The army they could not open—the higher branches of the law they could not—but they have thrown open the civil service under certain trying conditions, and, at the expense of the lower, they have provided the upper classes with the means of giving their children an advanced course of instruction. They are also doing something in the way of vernacular instruction, and they ultimately hope to carry at least the rudiments of education into the remotest villages. Such, then, and stated as briefly as possible, is the educational policy of the Government. It certainly sounds well, and seems to be complete and rational. But, to any one who has carefully considered the end, a number of the gravest doubts must naturally occur; and I think it, therefore, worth while to inquire more particularly into the results that will certainly come to pass if we fail to alter our method of educating the people of India.

Let us suppose, then, that the Government pursues its present educational policy, that more natives become highly educated, that more and more enter the civil service on terms of equality with our countrymen, and that the deadening effect of want of incentive to exertion is done away with: what, let us ask, will be the result of all this? The general result will simply be, that we shall find that we have abnormally developed the people of India, and placed a more formidable gulf between the upper and the middle and lower classes than could possibly have at any time existed, even if the laws of caste, as expounded by Manu, were to be carried out in all their cast-iron rigidity. If our object is to improve the people of India as a whole, to raise them altogether, to produce an harmonious and even

development, the line of action we are at present pursuing must terminate in bitter disappointment. As well might you expect, by gilding the tops of the pyramids, to arouse the mummies that have slept for centuries below, as expect to make any impression on Indian civilisation by raising a limited and infinitesimal section of the community to such an elevated position in the intellectual world as to be entirely beyond the sympathies and comprehension of those sons of toil who glory in the goad, and whose talk is of bullocks. Instead of the upper classes enlightening the lower—as, in well-constituted society, they invariably should do—we shall assuredly find that they will enlighten them as much as the cotton-planters in the Southern States have enlightened their negro slaves. Nor are we without a prominent example to illustrate what I anticipate will certainly come to pass, unless the rulers of India can be persuaded to give a different bend to the current of intellectual progress. That example I take from Buckle's "History of Civilization," and I do not think I can do better than quote the passage in its entirety:—"The German intellect," says the lamented author of the "History of Civilization," "stimulated by the French into a sudden growth, has been irregularly developed; and, thus hurried into an activity greater than the average civilization of the country requires, the consequence is, that there is no nation in Europe in which we find so wide an interval between the highest minds and the lowest minds. The German philosophers possess a learning and a reach of thought which place them at the head of the civilised world. The German people are more superstitious, more prejudiced, and, notwithstanding the care which the Government takes of their

education, more really ignorant, and more unfit to guide themselves, than are the inhabitants of either France or England. This separation and divergence of the two classes is the natural result of that artificial stimulus which, a century ago, was administered to one of the classes, and which thus disturbed the normal proportions of society. Owing to this, the highest intellects have, in Germany, so outstripped the general progress of the nation, that there is no sympathy between the two parties; nor are there at present any means by which they may be brought into contact. Their great authors address themselves, not to their country, but to each other. They are sure of a select and learned audience, and they use what, in reality, is a learned language; they turn their mother-tongue into a dialect, eloquent indeed, and very powerful, but so difficult, so subtle, and so full of complicated inversions, that to their lower classes it is utterly incomprehensible. From this there have arisen some of the most marked peculiarities of German literature. For, being deprived of ordinary readers, it is cut off from the influence of ordinary prejudice; and hence it has displayed a boldness of inquiry, a recklessness in the pursuit of the truth, and a disregard of traditional opinions which entitle it to the highest praise. But, on the other hand, this same circumstance has produced that absence of practical knowledge, and that indifference to material and physical interests, for which the German literature is justly censured. As a matter of course, all this has widened the original breach, and increased the distance which separates the great German thinkers from that dull and plodding class which, though it lies immediately beneath them, still remains uninfluenced by their knowledge, and

uncheered by the flow and fire of their genius." And if the reader will turn to page 239 of Mr. Buckle's first volume, he will find, in a note, quotations from Laing's "Notes of a Traveller," which will tend to prove how little the higher classes can benefit the lower, if the former have suddenly rushed, as it were, into the occupation of the highest branches of knowledge, while the latter have still but the rudiments of education.

What has happened in Germany, then, will, I apprehend, happen in India. Our efforts to elevate the Indians will simply terminate in an educated caste and an uneducated caste. The former will move in their sphere, and the latter in theirs, and between them will a great gulf be fixed. While the former will develop their faculties and extend their knowledge, the latter will slumber on uncheered and hopeless, and unable to do anything but gaze in uncomprehending wonder at what, to them, will appear to be the actions of beings moving in some distant sphere. And the greater the progress of the advanced Hindoos, the greater will be the evil to the community at large; for not only will the knowledge acquired be beyond the comprehension of those who have the first rudiments of education, but the very language in which that knowledge will be recorded will be entirely unintelligible to the masses. And that this result will inevitably ensue is sufficiently plain from the effects which, as I have shown, have been produced in Germany. Nor in India itself are we without an illustration of this tendency, where, from the short-sighted folly of man, a people has been irregularly developed, and where, from various causes, the higher classes have not sought an audience amongst the lower. At the present moment, the Canarese language spoken

amongst the more advanced classes is almost entirely unintelligible to the middle and lower ranks of the community, and, in short, is to them what the language of the advanced classes in Germany is to the middle and lower classes of that country.

I have said that the greater the progress of the advanced Hindoos, the greater will be the evil to the community in general. But we may, I think, go a step further, and say that the evil will not only reach the lower classes, but that it will also affect injuriously the upper classes themselves; for, were the lower classes able to comprehend the upper, that community of feeling that would then exist would arouse, I will not say that patriotism, but that feeling of sympathy, which is the most powerful stimulus and incentive to exertion. The knowledge that a man was addressing an extended audience, consisting of millions and millions of his countrymen, would produce in him an ardent enthusiasm which would attract to the paths of knowledge those agricultural classes who are at present slumbering in the sleep of ignorance. Nor can it be doubted that, if the curiosity of the multitude was once aroused, an extraordinary effect would thereby be produced amongst the educated classes themselves. They would then have a great and noble object. To compose in the vernacular languages, in a style that would be easily comprehensible, would then be an object of the first importance. It would be a source of pride and satisfaction to the leading men of each country to excel in the use of their own mother-tongue, and their faculties would be at once awakened and stimulated by the fact that their books were to be had in every village, and brought home to every hearth. Such reflections as these would give an aim and direction

to the efforts of the intellectual classes, who would no longer feel that they were merely improving for improving's sake, but with the object of enlightening the minds of the people about them, and raising them to better things.

Enough has now been said to show the reader the state of things as they are at present, and the state of things that, I anticipate, must come to pass, if the rulers of India persist in pursuing the educational policy they have adopted. Before, however, proceeding to point out those measures which should be adopted with the view of developing evenly the Indian in general, it may be as well to recapitulate, as briefly as possible, the ground we have gone over, and the points which I assume to have been established.

In considering, then, education in general, we came to the conclusion that the education of books is the least part of education, and that in no case can the faculties of a people be developed without the aid of powerful incentives to exertion. We have seen that instructed Hindoos do not advance beyond a certain point in consequence of the absence of incentive, and that when they leave school those faculties which have been aroused by curiosity soon rust and decay. We have also seen that the Government has adopted measures by which incentives will be provided for the enterprising and ambitious of the better classes. And we have assumed, further, that, this policy being pursued, more and more of the Indians will enter the civil service on terms of equality with ourselves, and that, consequently, more and more will become highly educated. We then inquired into the probable result of this policy on the community at large, and came to the conclusion that it would simply result in a very

small section of the people being highly advanced, while the masses would remain sunk in ignorance; and it was shown that the more highly educated the upper classes were, the worse it would be for the peoples of India. We have also seen that the result of the lower classes failing to comprehend the actions, and even the language, of the upper, must inevitably terminate in injury to the educated classes themselves; and the general conclusion we came to, after taking all points into consideration, was, that it is a mistake to place the foremost men in a society above the sympathy and comprehension of the masses, and that, in short, to develop a nation advantageously, you must develop it evenly.

If the preceding conclusions are correct, it follows that our educational policy in India requires to be entirely reconstructed, and from the remarks made by the press, and that have been let fall occasionally by our Indian rulers, it is evident that a feeling to that effect is commencing to make itself felt. There is an indication that the ridiculous notion of knowledge filtering, as it were, downwards, and so irrigating the masses below, is already commencing to be exploded. There are indications that the experience of the past, and the history of nations and peoples, are at last about to guide our governors for the future. It is melancholy indeed to find that Government again and again repeats the history of individuals. The accumulated wisdom of ages for the guidance of man in all the affairs of life, all the wisdom of Solomon, and the proverbial experience which each people hands on from generation to generation, are thrown away on individuals. Each man, in spite of all that has been written and spoken, will insist on working out his own experience to the bitter end. And thus it is with those who have it

in their power to influence the fate of others. Driven on by the exigencies of the hour and the clamour of the people who at the time have most power to make themselves heard, the governors of men drift on with their eyes steadily fixed on anything but the ultimate result of the policy they are pursuing. The eloquent Baboo, knocking at the door of Government House, and urging his claims in grandiloquent Johnsonese, has produced a wonderful effect on the action of Government; but who will hear the voice, or rather represent the wants, of the poor? Who will dare to neglect these splendid phrases, with their sesquipedal words, and, fixing the eye steadily on the requirements of a people, march on steadily, unheeding the clamours of the ignorant, and uncheered by anything but the reflection that his labours will bear fruit when his name will have been forgotten? It is almost too much to expect this in any country, but when these labours are to be incurred for the people of a foreign country, and amidst the depressing feelings occasioned by a debilitating climate, the wonder is, not that more has not been done, but that so much has been achieved. And when we come to consider, further, that in this country, from whence ought to emanate a more statesmanlike policy, the thoughts of men are absorbed in the questions which have naturally most interest for the public mind, it is no longer a matter of wonder that the interests of a distant empire should be uninfluenced by the only power that can make itself felt. Under these circumstances it is hopeless to expect that the schemes I have to propose will receive one moment's attention. I do not expect they will; but I shall not, therefore, be deterred from expressing them.

The object I have now in view is to lay down as clearly as possible a plan for developing the faculties of *the people of India considered as a whole—to develop* them in such a manner that the upper classes shall act on the lower, and the lower again on the upper; to diffuse information on political, social, agricultural, and manufacturing objects; to provide a machinery by which the intentions of the Government shall be clearly and regularly explained to the people, and by which the people in turn shall be enabled to make known their wants to the Government, and supply information as to the practical working of its enactments.

With the view of accomplishing these objects, I would divide the whole of India into educational districts, to be bounded, as far as practicable, by the language spoken; namely, I would take all the Canarese-speaking districts, and make the head-quarters of that educational department at some large town as nearly as possible in the centre of the country where Canarese is spoken. The same with Teloogoo, and Tamil, and other languages. At each of the educational centres I would establish a college, with the sole object of improving and developing the vernacular language, and especially with the view of creating a pure and lucid style of writing which should be readily comprehensible by the agricultural classes.

In the second place, I would establish an entirely vernacular school at the head-quarters of each county, and I would compel each village to supply two farmers' sons to attend regularly, with the exception of the time when their services would be required for the sowing and harvest work. And I would make these boys the medium of communication between the Government and the people. I would supply them with books on agri-

culture, on improving the breeds of cattle, and on the introduction and cultivation of new plants, especially the cinchona and other medicinal plants. These books I would allow them to take home on Saturday afternoons, and thus would be conveyed regularly and constantly a stream of intelligence on these subjects which would arouse the agricultural mind, and stimulate a desire for improvement. I would also make these boys convey intelligence of Government enactments, and I would encourage them, on their return from their homes, to communicate the thoughts and opinions of their families to the head of the school. I would thus endeavour to give a reality and purpose to education, without which the acquisition of knowledge is at once difficult and useless, and disseminate intelligence of every possible kind throughout the remotest hamlets.

In the third place, I would make the county schools and the college at the educational centre the sole avenues for admissions to the public services. Those who had passed satisfactorily through both would, of course, be eligible for the highest posts that natives could attain to without a knowledge of English; while I would give opportunities of employment in the lower grades of the service to those who were not inclined to go further than the county-school education. And supposing that they were afterwards inclined to attempt the higher branches of the service, I would allow them to rise, subject, of course, to examination as a test of their abilities.

In this scheme the reader will observe that I take no notice of English education, and I do so for this reason, namely, that I consider the encouragement given to English education will widen the distance between the masses and the educated classes. In any case it must

be positively conceded that, as English never can be known amongst the agricultural classes, to unduly encourage it will only be to lessen the progress that ought to be made in those vernacular tongues through which all intelligence must be conveyed. It must not be supposed, however, that I should not like to see a fair proportion of English education; but I consider that quite enough has been already done to start that branch of instruction, and I would, therefore, leave it for the future to be paid for by those classes who, for objects of their own, desire to be acquainted with our language.*

I have stated this plan for an educational system as briefly as possible, and have purposely avoided going into a consideration of the numerous difficulties that would have to be encountered, but which could readily be overcome. I have avoided all this, as my object here is to point out merely the groundwork of what is needed. Let the principles and general method once be admitted, and the rest will be easy. Once let the natives of the agricultural classes be supplied with motives for developing their natural intelligence—once let them understand that their gains will be increased, their comforts extended, and their health conserved by new methods of cultivation—once let them clearly see that progress in the service of the State will be the sure reward of industry and energy—once provide that food which will create an appetite for improvement, and improvement and development will surely follow.

It may be observed that the methods which I suggest for arousing the native mind are entirely based on the idea that education and knowledge are to develop directly the material prospects of the people; to add

* See Appendix A.

to their prospects of making money; to improve their agriculture; to improve their favourite animal, the cow; to provide them with means of alleviating disease by the introduction of medicinal plants; and to introduce, in short, every means and appliance that can either alleviate pain or add to the enjoyments of life. Unless education is thus brought to bear directly on their material interests, and unless it is daily inculcated that wealth and comfort are the main ends of instruction, all our schools in the agricultural districts will come to nought. To people looking on from a distance it may appear that you will have done a great deal when you have taught people to read and write, and when you have provided vernacular schools in every village; but I feel well assured that you will simply have done nothing at all. If mere instruction is easily let into the mind, it is far more easily let out. And that this is the case I have had ample evidence. Amongst the well-to-do farmers in my neighbourhood it is commonly the custom for several of them to club together, and employ a tutor to teach their children to read and write Canarese; but when all that is done, they having nothing to write about, and having no books of any practical interest to read, soon fall into the same state as those who have had no instruction at all. And it requires no great amount of penetration to foretell that this result will always recur until a practical literature is started, which shall be adapted to arouse the attention of the people, and which shall treat of all those subjects which come home to them in every-day life. There is no use whatever in merely shooting down a lot of instructive bricks and mortar when you want to erect your educational edifice. And though this process may produce a trifling effect in the centres of life, and in the

large towns of India, it will assuredly not answer at all amongst the rural populations in general.

I have now said that nothing can really be effected amongst the people unless some practical literature be started amongst them which shall powerfully attract their attention. But how is this elementary and practical literature to be started, and where are you to find the writers? It is evident that writers will not spring up in a day, and though in time they will, no doubt, arise, when the demand for books commences and increases, it is plain that the initiatory books must be written and printed at the expense and through the agency of the Government. And though this may seem a laborious and uphill task, it is just one of those tasks which must be gone through, if our efforts are ever to be crowned with success. These difficulties should be looked fairly in the face, and it should be distinctly recognised that to lay broad and deep the foundations of national progress is not the work of years, but almost of generations. When, however, we come to contemplate such stretches of time, the mind is half inclined to shrink from the task; and the temptation to snatch at the showy and evanescent results which can readily be obtained by scratching at the surface of society is naturally so strong as almost to be irresistible. Hitherto the temptation has proved to be quite irresistible, and as long as the upper classes of the Indians can make their wants felt, while the lower work on unconscious, unheeding, and unheeded, the direction of the intellectual current will continue unaltered, and the breach between the educated and the uneducated will widen and widen, until, in the end, we shall have produced a more disjointed example of civilisation than has ever been brought about since the world began.

CHAPTER IX.

NATIVE AGRICULTURE.

If many delusions exist in this country as regards the Indians, there are, if possible, still more existing in the minds of Anglo-Indians as to the state of things which exist in the country of their birth. To hear the Englishman in India talk, you would imagine that in this happy land was to be found everything that was good, and true, and beautiful; that our drugs, our morals, and our food were alike pure and unadulterated; and that here all the resources of art and skill had been brought to bear on every conceivable difficulty, till there remained nothing now to do but to sit down and enjoy the fruits of all those things that had been effected by the efforts of enlightened Englishmen. And, in order that they may be quite consistent, our countrymen carry with them, as regards our agricultural skill, a belief which is equally soothing and exhilarating, and a firmness of conviction which supports them in making the boldest assertions as to the badness of Indian, and the perfection of English, farming. The size of our cart-horse as compared with the Indian bullock, the very weight and dimensions of our implements, and the magnitude of our agricultural operations, when contrasted with those puny Indian farms, are facts which require only to be mentioned in

order to carry conviction into every heart, and to silence every doubt. To inquire and to observe is therefore needless, and nothing remains but to teach. It is sufficient for your Anglo-Indian, as he toils along some dusty road, to glance at the Hindoo peasant with his plough on his shoulder, to see the faint furrow that is traced on the hard and uncongenial soil, to observe those greyhound bullocks of puny build, and to conclude that these, being unlike English cart-horses, plough, and steam-engines, further examination is therefore needless, and that, as the Hindoo will slumber on as he has done for the last two thousand years, it is hopeless to try and improve him. Some, however, being bolder and more energetic, are determined to arouse these slumbering peasants, and the rage for creating a new state of things forthwith commences. No longer is the humble ryot to trace these faint furrows, nor to tread out the corn with his cattle, nor to burn his manure for fuel, nor to pound and grind his corn. The sanguine improver looks forward, and fondly hopes to see the day when the sound of the threshing machine shall be heard in the land, when ploughing shall result in a furrow broad and deep, when manure shall be carefully stored and utilised instead of being burnt for fuel, and when the hum of the water-mill shall succeed to the drudgery of pounding and grinding that corn which must now be converted into flour by the maidens and women of Hindoostan. But the ardent mind rushes on to triumphs far transcending these, till reaping machines and steam-ploughs are talked of as things that those now alive may live to see in daily use. Filled with a generous enthusiasm, your Anglo-Indian resolves that something must be done, that machines must be got out from England, and a serious effort made.

And the machines accordingly are got, and the experiments made, and—the delusion is gathered up and put away, and you hear no more about it.

But still the cry goes on; the error, once started, continues to be propagated, and again and again do you hear from every side an echo of this very ancient tale. In a single day have I seen this lament raising its dreary wail in journal after journal. Improvement in agriculture, says the *Times;* improvement in agriculture, says the Asiatic; improvement in agriculture, says the enlightened Parsee, is one of the principal things we must look to for at once developing the resources of the soil and increasing the prosperity and revenues of India. Year after year have I witnessed the expression of those yearning desires for improvement without attempting to arrest, or at least to modify them; but the time for trying to dislodge these old illusions must no longer be deferred; and, at the risk of drawing upon me the opposition and censures of those ardent Hindoo improvers, I must now speak out, and endeavour to place this subject on a satisfactory footing. And, accordingly, I shall attempt to show what the Indians can and do effect, what it will not pay them to alter, and what improvements can be recommended with a reasonable prospect of success.

Before, however, commencing to do this, I think it advisable to (what I am clearly of opinion should always be done at the outset of every paper, book, or essay on India) give the reader an account of the opportunities I had of forming correct conclusions on the subject. In the second place, I think it may be useful to look at home just to see what we are doing now, and what we are failing to do, in agriculture. And, in the third place, I shall address myself to Indian farming.

And, first of all, as to my opportunities of forming correct conclusions. As to my own agricultural knowledge I may safely say that I am, to use a favourite native expression, merely an ignorant boy. It is true that I belong to a good agricultural county in Scotland, that I observed things, I think, with a good deal more interest than the general run of people do, and that I probably know more about agriculture than your Anglo-Indian generally does. With the aid, too, of agricultural works, and by dint of hard questioning and personal investigation in the country of Mysore, it is probable that I might unaided have formed a fair opinion. But I certainly should not have ventured to speak in a tone otherwise than doubtful and diffident if these were all the claims I had to a hearing. The opinions and experiences I have now to lay before the reader are certainly the result of my own conclusions, but they are confirmed and ratified by the judgment of an experienced and practical Scotch farmer, a man of such unusual intelligence that, in the course of a few years, he was allowed to be one of the first, if not the very first, planter in Mysore. This gentleman, whose untimely death was lamented by the natives almost more than by the Europeans who knew him, was of a Berwickshire farming family. He had been a factor, and when he entered my employ, was farming, conjointly with his brother, in my own county. He did not leave Scotland till he was in his twenty-seventh year, and as he was a man of naturally acute observation, and of unusual energy and industry, it may be supposed that it would be difficult to get a better and more practical opinion. These details may seem to require an apology for their minuteness, but if every writer on India would be only as minute, the

English reader would at once know what value to attach to the assertions that are so often printed, and would, in short, be placed in a much more satisfactory position than he is at present.

Having thus indicated the base I am going to work upon, I shall now proceed to offer a few general remarks upon agriculture in this country. And in making these remarks I may mention, first of all, that I am mainly guided by Mr. D. Macdonald, whose able work on Farming and Estate Management has run through so many editions; but I have also made use of information from various other sources which I think it unnecessary to specify.

What I have now to say as regards agriculture in these islands I limit entirely to England, which has not yet made that approach, not to high farming, but even to that fairly good farming which is to be met with from one end of Scotland to the other. When remarking upon any state of things existing in a country, it may seem unfair to select the worst points and the most backward districts for criticism, and to leave on one side that part of the island where things are to be seen at their best. But my object in saying anything about English agriculture at all is to show people who have gone, perhaps, straight from an English town to an Indian village, that the ideal good husbandry which they have heard of as being so universal in this country is by no means common, and that bad husbandry rather than good may be said to be the rule. This, however, is not the only object I have in view while pointing out the defects of English husbandry, and I am principally induced to paint things as they really are, with the view of lessening that ignorant feeling of superiority which

so often ends in a universal habit of decrying, or even refusing to examine, anything that has been adopted by the Indians, because it must necessarily be quite behind the times. And if I can succeed in at all lessening that tendency, I shall have gone a good way towards helping on the adoption of such improvements as are really practicable. When you laugh at a man's implements, ridicule all those notions which have been handed down to him, and vaunt the superiority of your ways and your machines, you have fully prepared him to resist the whole of your proposals. He will probably, and, as regards Indian agriculture, he will certainly, see that some of the things he does must be right, and cannot be altered, and that so far you must be wrong; and returning on you the position with which you started, he will be just as much inclined to ridicule you as you are to ridicule him. But if the Englishman was at all conversant with the real state of things in this country, he would not only be better able to judge, but far better able to teach something really to the point. He could tell the Indian that in England there were bad as well as good cultivators, and that the bad much exceeded the good, but that the bad farmers were fast learning from the good, and that the science of agriculture is as much in a progressive state here as it always must and should be all over the world. And the Englishman would then be in a position to praise what was good in native agriculture, and, by praising the good, he would more easily pave the way for the introduction of those improvements that are practicable. Having thus explained the objects I have in view, I now proceed to point out a few of the leading defects of agricultural practice that are so frequently to be met with in the southern portions of this island

The best proof we have of the inferiority of farming in England, considered as a whole, is the remarkable and interesting fact that the bleak, cold lands of Scotland, with every disadvantage of climate, rival, and even eclipse, in producing powers the more highly-favoured climates of the south. Man in the north, stimulated by competition, and by the advantages of high rents, has actually wrung from niggard nature a greater proportionate return of food than can be produced in the south; and it has been conclusively shown that even the inferior soils of Scotland yield a greater average quantity of food than is produced on the average of all the soils in England, including both inferior and superior. But it is impossible even for the most ordinary and superficial observer to fail to notice, as he travels from Scotland to England, the melancholy signs of barbarism which so frequently meet the eye—the long trains of horses, the undrained land, the small fields, the luxurious hedges, the waste of power, the squandering of manure, the clumsy waggons, the horses loaded with the weightiest harness, and the wretched boys, who ought to be at school, spending the livelong day, whip in hand, struggling through the clay. Without entering into too much detail, we may just notice, as we pass along, a few of the effects that arise from the evils alluded to. And, first of all, let us consider the effects of the small fields and those cumbrous cavalcades we so often see in the south of England. At a single glance the loss of time in turning both plough and horses in a small field is the most obvious matter calling for remark, and the following facts will show the reader the immense loss of time incurred in turning even an ordinary two-horse abreast plough; and, if that is the

case, I need only leave him to judge of the loss of time that must ensue when three horses in a row have to be got into position for a fresh start. Supposing, then, that you have a ridge 78 yards long, the time lost in turning comes to no less than 5h. 11m., or rather more than half of the ordinary ten-hours day's work. If, however, you extend the length of your ridge to 149 yards, you will only lose 2h. 44m.; and if to 274 yards, the loss will only amount to 1h. 28m. per day. And this loss of time occasioned by having frequently to turn, in consequence of the smallness of the fields, is only one of the losses to be incurred. When we come to consider the waste of labour and the waste of power arising from the long team, we are more than ever struck with the dense obstinacy which in this nineteenth century, and in this enlightened country, will persist in neglecting all the laws of economy and all the laws of draught. For, by employing this long draught-line, a great deal of the strength of the horses is wasted in pulling one another, and a man and boy are at least required, and sometimes even more than this, for the management of the plough and team, whereas the whole of this work could be as efficiently performed by two horses yoked abreast, and driven by a single ploughman.

Amidst the outcry against shallow ploughing in India, it is interesting to find that this "is indeed one of the most crying evils of English agriculture;" and equally astonishing is it to find the number of arguments that are again and again adduced to show the advantages of deeply stirring and minutely dividing the soil in order to expose it more fully to the action of the air. Nor is it less surprising to find that, with every mechanical appliance at command, the traditionary waggon, with its

creaking wheels, still toils along many a rough farm road, and that the horses which drag it are still loaded with those standing-up capes, which only add to the weight of the collar and the general obstructions with which the perversity of man clogs the forces at his disposal. But if the harness and draught appliances in general are freely to be criticised, not the less are the farm-steadings, where manure is allowed to run so freely to waste, and where that ammonia, which ought to furnish food for growing crops, is left to poison the air which has to be breathed by animals that ought to be provided with the purest atmosphere. And how often do we see in the arrangement of the buildings, and in the want of ventilation and drainage, a lack of attention and a carelessness as to consequences which seem to indicate that the agricultural race is at once slovenly and barbarous! Then there are those foul, dark stables, which exclude the light so completely as to injure the sight of the horses, and to cause an ample source of irritation when the animal is suddenly taken into the full glare of day. Another evil, too, which seems likely to cry aloud for many a long day is the waste of seed, which is often sown in prodigal quantities, and without the slightest reference to the poverty or richness of the soil. Look even at the good old English hedge, that exhauster of plants that grow near it, the harbour for insects and vermin, the obstacle to the circulation of sun and air, and last, though not least, consider for one moment what thousands of acres are needlessly occupied, to the loss of the country and the detriment of both landlord and tenant. And then in the hedgerows we have trees which afford no shelter, and whose shade are injurious to the plants within their

influence. Nor, because we diminish our hedges by one-half, and do away with our hedgerow trees, need the country be made any the less beautiful; for large fields, with trees massed into plantations at intervals, are at least as pleasant to look at as those cramped divisions which suggest nothing but worry and confinement.

When we turn, again, to the consideration of drainage, or rather the want of it, we are struck more forcibly than ever with the extraordinary stagnation and want of enterprise displayed in many parts of England; and the general result of the losses arising from the neglect of it may be briefly summed up by observing that, were the lands in this country perfectly drained, the annual produce might be increased by at least fifty per cent. Nor is this actual loss of produce the only evil arising from undrained or imperfectly-drained land; for a variety of diseases that occur in sheep and cattle are distinctly to be traced to the land being inadequately drained; and insects, both creeping and flying, add to the general list of evils by tormenting both man and beast. To crown all, I may add, that deficient drainage entails sticky roads, and horses exhausted in dragging their loads; that the air is rendered damp and chilly; and that fever and rheumatism too often complete the list of evils enumerated.

To glance at another defect in our English agricultural system, I may briefly allude to the enormous waste incurred in feeding animals on the land instead of under cover, notwithstanding that our own experience, as well as that of the Americans and Flemings, has placed beyond all doubt that you cannot waste your land more effectually than by feeding your stock upon it. In cow-feeding especially it has been decisively shown, by

experiments extending over, in the aggregate, fourteen years, and which were conducted by Dr. Rhode-Eldena, of the Royal Academy of Prussia, that cows fed in stalls pay better than if fed on land in the usual way. There is a saving of grass, which is damaged when lain and dunged upon; there is a saving in fencing; there is an increase in the milk, amounting to about one-third; and the health of the animal remains unimpaired. And not only do you waste your land, but, where fattening is the object in view, you waste an enormous quantity of food, in consequence of the animal to be fattened requiring more nourishment when cold than it does when comfortably warm. This can be shown theoretically with ease, but it has also been shown practically that a sheep in a shed will eat half as much only, and gain more weight than one unsheltered.

In concluding these trifling remarks on a few of the many defects that can be pointed out in English agriculture, I think it may not altogether be superfluous or uninteresting if I point, for one moment, to the very recent date that must be affixed to the improvements that have been effected in this country. The reader who feels interested in this subject may be referred to an interesting article on "Agriculture" which appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* of January, 1866, and it is from the journal in question that I take the following facts. It appears there that the most important agricultural improvement in England can date no further back than 1838. In that year the Royal Agricultural Society came into being, and we find Mr. Pusey, in the first volume of the Society's *Journal*, advocating the ridge system of turnip culture instead of the broadcast system then prevalent. He also informed the public that "the

use of another machine, by which seed is laid in regular rows, has lately become frequent, though it established itself so slowly that for a long time travelling machines made yearly journeys from Suffolk to Oxfordshire." But what will appear still more extraordinary, when I come to speak of the machines that have been used for thousands of years in India, is the unfeigned delight and satisfaction with which the reviewer himself regards the invention of this important machine. We are informed that the triumph of Vulcan and his aid to Ceres were never more conspicuously shown. "The mechanic," says the ardent reviewer, "was requested to construct a machine capable of depositing any sort of seed, in known quantities, at a regular depth, in parallel lines of optional distance from each other, with or without manure; and lo! that wonderful invention, the drill, in the absence of which our present clean and orderly system of farming would be impossible." To revert again for one moment to Mr. Pusey, I may observe that in the *Journal* alluded to, he talks of draining in a doubtful vein, but contends that land should be drained to carry off surface water; and he also speaks of bones as applied for the first time in 1835.

I think I have now said enough to show that our agricultural improvements are neither so marked nor so recent as they are generally supposed to be; and I shall now turn the attention of the reader to the agriculture of the Mysore province.

When I first came to notice agriculture in Mysore, the first thing that occurred to me, after observing the admirable drill husbandry of these plains, the way in which the crops are kept so thoroughly clean, and the fine state of comminution into which the soil is worked

for the preparation of the seed, the first question that naturally arose in my mind was,—Whence have our people, both in India and England, got their extraordinary delusion regarding the pitiable state of agriculture which they imagine to prevail from one end of the great peninsula to the other? But on having recourse to books, the oldest and greatest enemies of India since we had anything to do with it, I soon succeeded in tracking the delusion to its source, or at least to one of its numerous sources. And, in tracing the stream backwards, how often have I been reminded of the quotation at the head of my final chapter—how often that "it is much easier to collect ideas of men and things from books than from real life, and that it is inconceivable how ideas once adopted continue to be propagated!"

On turning to the pages of the "British Encyclopædia," I find it there stated that agriculture is carried on in India in a rude and slovenly fashion, and that so careless are the people, that a field, after numerous ploughings, has many small bushes as upright as before the labour was commenced. Going back again some time further, we find a very miserable account in Mill, and there we find our bushes again; and going back still further to Buchanan, who travelled through Mysore after the war which terminated with the death of Tippoo, we find the original observer of the bushes in question, who had been deputed by Government to make a report on the products and resources of the Mysore province. And we also find that he talks of the ploughings, harrowings, &c., as expressions which he is obliged to use, but which will convey anything but the truth, as the operations usually understood by these terms could hardly be said to have been performed at all; and then

we have the statement of the bushes. As to what these bushes seen by Buchanan really were, I was rather at a loss to conjecture at first, but I have little doubt they consisted of a kind of leguminous plant which is sown along with the other grain, and, after the grain crop has been harvested and the land replanted, is left to ripen in turn. This plant (the name of which I have forgotten), being left at intervals, would certainly convey the idea of a bush left by chance or carelessness, and I have little doubt it was what Buchanan really saw. In any case, I am sure it could not have been a wild bush that he saw, as no fields that are cultivated with the usual seven or eight ploughings could possibly have such a thing left in them. To this statement of Buchanan, written about seventy years ago, I attribute a good deal of the notions at present prevailing; and it is just possible that Tennent, who talks of scratching as the only term to be used for Hindoo ploughing, and Orme, who alleges that "the Hindoo plough leaves scarce the impression of a furrow," have perhaps had something to do with these notions, which have been copied from one book into another down to the present time.

But if the ideas as to the wretched way in which the soil is worked are erroneous, far more erroneous are the ideas prevailing as to the way in which manure is squandered and destroyed. The laments on this head have been loud and numerous, and the members of the Cotton Supply Association have much concerned themselves regarding the neglect of this important part of husbandry. But of all the blunders of the Hindoos, the burning of cattle manure for fuel has long excited the deepest concern, and we accordingly find that, when a deputation from the Association waited on the Duke of Argyll, the

first thing his Grace thought of was to lament that cow-dung should be so used. But the importance of this using up of manure for firing purposes has been gone into at some length in a book entitled, "Notes on the North-west Provinces, by a District Officer," and I leave his words to express the common notions on the subject.

"But," says the District Officer, "if all the barren land were redeemed, the increase to the productive capacity of the country would be small in comparison to what it might be were the means devised of saving the farmyard manure. Nothing, I believe, tends to keep the agricultural classes so poor as the want of fuel, which compels them to use the dung for that purpose. The cow-dung is all carefully saved for this end. It is the chief occupation of the Indian peasant housewife, after she has drawn the water and kneaded the dough, to make the cow-dung into pats, and spread it to dry in the sun. It is then, if not wanted for immediate use, stacked and coated with mud, to preserve it from wet. Tons of it are every day brought into the large towns for sale, and it forms the only fuel used by the large mass of the population. In the cold weather, when a fire at night and in the early morning is a want, every available bit of horse, sheep, or goat's dung is greedily gathered and burnt. The women of the village may be seen scattered over the grazing plains, gathering in baskets every scrap of precious ordure they can find." "Nothing," he continues further on, "but the wonderful fertility of the soil, which seems to need water alone as a manure, saves the agricultural classes from utter ruin under such a system. But that it leads to the impoverishment of them, and of the whole country with them, is, I

believe, as certain as it is that a good dose of farmyard manure will more than double the crop."

Now, all this sounds very conclusive, but the whole thing is a delusion from one end to the other, and, so far from the burning of cow-dung being a loss to the country, it is the cause of a great deal of manure being added to the soil that would otherwise be wholly lost in roads and lanes, and on the barren plains. I well knew the value of this dung of lean cattle from my attention having been much drawn to the subject with reference to the manuring of our coffee plantations, but I thought it worth while to obtain the opinion of a well-known chemist, Dr. A. Dupré, as to whether there would be any loss in burning the dung of lean cattle as long as the ashes were returned to the soil, and that gentleman was of opinion that there would be hardly any loss at all.* Now, all the ashes in an Indian house are thrown on to the common manure heap, and so find their way to the fields; and added to these ashes of the dung dropped at home, are the ashes of every morsel of dung dropped in places where it would be entirely lost were it not for the use of cow-dung as fuel. And even if we assume for one moment that there is a slight loss from burning cow-dung, this is more than compensated for by the fact of manure being collected, which it would never pay to collect were it not to be used as fuel. I have no doubt that farmers who from a distance send their cow-dung for fuel to the large towns are losers by the transaction, but the general interests of the country do not suffer, as the ashes are applied to lands near the town; and we

* I may remind the reader that 1,000 lbs. of dung of grass-fed cattle in England contain only 4 lbs. of nitrogen, 3 lbs. of phosphoric acid, and 4 lbs. of lime, and that the dung of the lean kine of India must be much poorer.

accordingly read in Buchanan's work, written seventy years ago, that "farmers near the town of Seringapatam send bullocks to the town for all the refuse and sweepings, and besides collect numerous leaves to add to the manure heaps." It is really a sad thing to have to deprive Indian reformers, and the members of the Cotton Association in particular, of their cattle-dung laments; but unless some new and hitherto undiscovered qualities can be found in the manure of lean cattle, I am afraid they must be content to believe, for the future, that India loses nothing by manure being used as fuel. The base of the whole of these delusions I imagine to lie probably in the fact that the people here and in India argue from the dung of stall-fed oxen, instead of from the dung of lean, grass-fed cattle.

I shall again have occasion to return to the subject of manure; but I may observe here that natives are particularly careful to utilise all the manure they can lay their hands on, and it was noticed by Buchanan that a great deal of attention was paid to manuring the soil; and he also notices the custom, which seems to have always prevailed in India, of paying the flock-masters a certain sum per night on condition of their folding their sheep on the fields.

Having thus endeavoured to disperse a few delusions existing as regards Indian agriculture, I shall now proceed to enumerate and describe the implements used in the cultivation of dry crops in Mysore; and by dry crops I mean those which depend entirely on the rains, just as crops do in England.

As for the plough, it certainly does not need much description; and were you to cut off the head of a lean, long-snouted pig, add an iron continuation to the nose,

fix a stick into the back of the head, with a handle at the top for the plough-stilt, and another stick (pointed, of course, in the opposite direction) with a cross-bar at the top to lay over the necks of the pair of bullocks in front, you would have a fair idea of an Indian plough. As it may be imagined, this plough is not very expensive, and when I cultivated some rice-fields, a good many years ago, mine cost exactly ninepence. But rude as it is, this plough answers extremely well, and where labour is as cheap as it is in India, it would not pay to supply a much more expensive substitute; and it must further be considered that the draught power available is extremely weak, and that anything very weighty would therefore be unsuitable. The Indian plough, it is true, makes but a small impression at the first ploughing; but the native cultivator gets down as far as he can, and when he gets more rain he sets to work again, and gets down deeper; and all good cultivators plough their land seven or eight times in the year, and by this method attain at last a respectable depth. I sent one of my managers, not long ago, to ascertain carefully the depth to which dry lands are ploughed, and he reports that the common depth is about 4½ in., or nearly the same depth reached when lea land is ploughed up in this country. The field is, of course, ploughed across and across, and in different directions, so that the soil is most thoroughly opened up and exposed to the action of the air, and by the time the seed-bed is fully ready, it would be difficult to find soil in a finer state of preparation.

The next implement I have to notice is the drilling machine, which seems to me to be superior to those in use in other parts of India, and, as will be shown, is

superior in many respects to anything we have in England. This machine sows twelve drills at a time of raggee, and a thirteenth drill of a leguminous plant, one drill of which is put down to every six drills of the grain crop. It is not generally an easy matter to describe a machine, but the one under consideration can be easily imagined, when I tell the reader to take twelve hollow sticks, about $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. long, run the ends through a block of wood pierced with holes at the requisite distances, and join the other ends into a central bowl. To this transverse block of wood, through which the sticks are run, is attached the ordinary plough-yoke, and, guided by the ordinary plough-stilt, the machine is driven along. The seed is then fed into the bowl, and through the sticks finds its way into the soil. The ends of the sticks are cut off at rather a sharp angle, so that the soil is gently raised, and then falls back on to the seed. This machine certainly does its work admirably, and it would be impossible to arrive at a better and more regular result than is thus attained by the Mysore farmer. When I have seen the machine used, one man guided it while another fed in the grain; but a very slight improvement, it is obvious, would enable the whole operation to be done by a single man. And here I may observe that when I come to compare the barbarous machines often used in the south of England with this cheap, simple, and effective machine, I am more surprised than ever at the utter ignorance of the English in India as regards the operations they daily see going on around them. Last spring I was in Wiltshire, the Salisbury plains of which county remind one so exactly of many parts of the interior of the Mysore table-land; and I found that the drilling machine in use there took

no less than four strong cart-horses to pull it, and no less than three men to manage it, and with all this the result was only fifteen drills sown at a time. And when I came further to witness the waste of draught power by harnessing three horses one in front of the other in the waggons, I could not help coming to the conclusion that, instead of sending out agricultural machines and lessons in the economy of power to the plains of Mysore, it would have been much more to the purpose to send some good Indian farmers to the plains of Salisbury, with the view of teaching the natives of these parts how to put down their crops more cheaply than they do at present.

The reader will remember that the use of drilling machines at all has only come into universal operation in England in, comparatively speaking, very recent times, and that the most important improvements in agriculture can date no further back than 1838. Now, I have always been at a loss to account for the early discovery of the drilling machine in India, and the only way I can account for its discovery there, while it was unknown in England, is that there are hollow sticks in the first country, while there are none in the second. India had everywhere the hollow bamboo, and the presence of ready-made tubes must naturally have suggested the machine, or at least have rendered its manufacture easy, cheap, and simple. But in England the only hollow stick at hand is the alder, and it is not of sufficient length to answer the purpose. Metal tubes were therefore a necessity, and as these required cheap manufacturing power, and would necessarily be costly, it is not to be wondered at that the drill was slow in coming into use. To this simple fact, then, of there being hollow

sticks in India and none in England may be traced, it seems to me, the economical husbandry of the former, and the enormous waste of food that has been occasioned in the latter country by the want of one of the most essential machines used in cultivating the ground.

The next implement I have to notice is the bullock drill-hoe used by the farmers in Mysore; and here, again, we have the same cheap and simple yoke, with the ordinary plough-stilt; but, instead of what we may call the ploughshare, there is a transverse block of wood, into which are fixed two iron blades. These blades pass between the drills, and, when the crop is a few inches high, weeds are thus removed, and the whole soil gently stirred and loosened.

The remaining implements in use call for no very detailed notice. After ploughing, a round log of wood is dragged over the ground, partly to level it, and partly to act as a clod-crusher. Following this we have a large bullock hoe, to throw weeds and roots to the surface, and this also tends further to pulverise the soil. Then there is a large wooden rake (drawn by bullocks), with twelve teeth, to remove weeds and roots, and a brush-harrow, which is used last before the ground is sown.

From the short description thus given the reader must have already come to the conclusion that, as regards a careful and cleanly drill husbandry, the natives have little to learn from us; and I may here mention that my late manager (the gentleman alluded to previously as being an experienced Scotch farmer), with reference to native agriculture, said, "When I came here first I thought I could improve the methods of agriculture as practised by the Hindoos, but I now find that, considering the means available, I can suggest no improvement

at all, unless, perhaps, the introduction of an improved plough." And I may add that some very able and experienced civilians, with whom I have conversed on the subject, are entirely of the same opinion. One of the gentlemen alluded to, after a twenty-five years' service as a collector and magistrate in the Bombay presidency, has now settled in England, and as he has taken to farming in this country, and paid necessarily a good deal of attention to the subject, it is satisfactory to find that his opinion confirms that of my late manager. And Campbell, in his "History of India," points to the proofs of the agriculture of the Hindoos as evident from the excellence of the crops. He then very pertinently adds, "To appreciate the skill of the natives a man must try a little cultivation on his own account, and see whether he can make it pay, or in any way succeed as well." "I," he continues, "have tried it, and seen a good deal of experiment." And the late Sir Mark Cubbon, in reply to some communication on this subject addressed to him by Government, contented himself with observing that, "as regards the careful cultivation of their crops, the natives of Mysore have little to learn."

Considering the actual facts of the case, it is amusing to read of the *furore* that has set in, the zeal that has been displayed, and the money that has been and is now being spent in teaching the Hindoos how to cultivate their fields. The results, too, of our agricultural efforts and exhibitions are often sufficiently amusing. Some years ago there was one held near Bangalore, when the natives, amongst other things, were to be shown how to cut their corn more quickly than they do at present; and, in order to make the advantages of our system more apparent and convincing, twenty women with reaping-

hooks were set to compete with scythes, and the result was that the women beat the scythes quite out of time. Sir William Denison, too, thought he would teach the natives how to thresh their rice-straw. Well, he got out the machine, and the natives beat the machine again; the fact being that the rice-plant is, when dry, extremely brittle, and a few knocks of a sheaf detach the grain. But the whole subject has been most amusingly shown up by Mr. Prichard, in his "Chronicles of Budgepore," and it seems pretty clear that these exhibitions have hitherto been merely a delusion from one end to the other. You read of them, or rather of each one, "being in every way a great success," and so they are a great success in the way of laying out money without any adequate return. An agricultural exhibition held at Calcutta is alluded to by Mr. Prichard, and we are informed that the country gained a total loss of £4,000 thereby, and that no one was a bit the better. The fact is that these things are quite beyond the intelligence and needs of the country, and, from the ignorance of the "promoters," are more likely to afford food for laughter than anything else. And then, as regards their aim and object, there is the invariable difficulty we are always met with in India—the want of means for disseminating information amongst the rural classes. I do not mean to say that the principle of agricultural exhibitions is a bad one, but their introduction, to be of service, should not only be gradual, but they should be evenly distributed over the country, with reference to the requirements of each district separately. I have some more remarks to make on this last point, but think it more convenient to reserve them for the suggestions I shall have to offer presently regarding the steps that I

think should be taken with the view of improving the agriculture of the natives.

We have now taken stock of the agricultural implements used in the cultivation of dry crops in the interior of Mysore, and I purpose next to say a few words as to the crops grown.

Over the whole dry-grain region of Mysore the prevailing crop is raggee (*Eleusine corocana*). The grain has rather a short straw as a rule, and has a head of considerable size, composed of grain about as large as turnip seeds, and of a dull red colour. This grain is said by Dr. Forbes Watson to be of about the same nutritive value as rice; but, whatever may be the chemical value of the sample examined by that gentleman, it is practically found that two meals of raggee are equal to three of rice; at least, such is the conclusion of natives in our part of the country. I cannot help thinking that the result arrived at by Dr. Forbes Watson is probably due to the fact of the samples examined having been grown in a wet climate, and in a poor soil; and, with the view of ascertaining the value of this grain, I have written to India for samples grown in the wet countries, and samples grown in the dry, open plain, and in the best land. These samples will be submitted to Dr. Forbes Watson, and should the result prove that this grain is not superior to rice, it will then be interesting to inquire on what its undoubtedly superior nutritive value depends.* To return to the cultivation of this grain: I may observe that it is put down in drills after the land is duly prepared, and that to every six drills there is sown one drill of bullar (*Dolichos spicatus*), a plant of the leguminous order, and

* See Appendix B.

with a leaf and seed very like French beans, though the seed itself is considerably larger. The plant is of slow growth, and is kept down by the corn crop, just as clover is in this country by the barley or wheat crop to which it commonly succeeds. After the raggee crop is harvested the land between the drills of bullar is ploughed up, and in the course of a few weeks the leguminous plant, in a good season, almost completely covers the ground. This crop is harvested in due course, and the land left to rest till the following year, when the same rotation is repeated. In occasional years, and according to the quality of the land, other crops, as castor-oil and gram (used as food for horses), are substituted for the raggee and bullar crops; but, as I have before observed, the last are the prevailing crops grown in dry lands throughout the Mysore province. This rotation may seem to be extremely narrow, but, considering the climate and the circumstances of the country, it is difficult to see how it could be altered in any way. In this country the nearest approach to it is to be found in the system prevailing in the Salisbury plains. There you have two white, or grain crops, followed by clover, or vetches, to be eaten off by sheep, and the following year turnips are put down, and this completes the rotation. Now, the climate of Mysore entirely precludes the growth of a paying grass crop to be fed down by sheep, and a turnip crop is quite out of the question, so there is nothing left but to take a grain crop and a leguminous crop alternately; and considering that both these crops are grown and harvested in the same year, the result of two years in Mysore just comes up to four years' growth in the Salisbury plains; so that when we come to compare the results, the Mysore

farmer seems far from badly off as regards the yield obtained from the soil.

The next crop that demands our attention is rice, and by Heyne's Tracts I find that no less than twenty-one varieties exist in the province of Mysore. The finer varieties are in general less productive than the coarser, and require a much longer time to ripen. The finest kind I ever met with was a very small-grained rice with a black husk; but this variety is, I believe, extremely rare. Considerable efforts have been made by Government to introduce Carolina rice. The results have been found to vary considerably in the several districts, according to the degree of care and attention paid to the subject; but sufficient has been done to warrant the late Commissioner of Mysore in concluding that, under similar conditions, it is equal, if not superior, both in quality and yield, to the indigenous kind of rice. It is doubtful, however, continues the commissioner, whether the instinctive prejudices of the ryot to what is new and foreign will ever be overcome, so as to allow of the introduction of Carolina paddy more generally. Considering, however, that the commissioner has admitted that this rice has only a doubtful superiority over the indigenous kinds, it is not to be wondered at that the natives do not put themselves to the trouble and expense of procuring the seed. We here find that, in accordance with tradition, the indifference of the people to Carolina paddy is put down to "the instinctive prejudices of the ryot to what is new and foreign;" but, for my own part, I shrewdly suspect that the thing would not pay. I have never found the natives, or indeed any one else, slow in taking to a thing that would pay; and I have never, for instance, observed that any attempt has been

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made to show how "the instinctive prejudices of the ryot to what is new and foreign" were overcome in the matter of a cultivation so entirely new and foreign as coffee once was. But in India we always find some novel principle of action ascribed to the character of the people, in order to account for their not taking to what we fancy they ought immediately to adopt.

The cultivation of rice needs little description. The ground is ploughed in the ordinary way. Sometimes the seed is drilled in as with raggee, but in many instances, and in the wet districts almost always, it is put down in a nursery, and transplanted by hand. But little manure is added to the soil, which is annually enriched by the muddy water, which of course leaves a rich deposit behind it, more especially where it has flowed from jungle soils. The use of an extra supply of manure is, in the case of rice cultivation, attended with considerable risk, as, if abundantly manured, the straw grows long and strong, and the crop is therefore extremely liable to be laid by the wind. Where water is available, two crops can always be taken in the year, but in my part of the country only one is taken, though two could often be raised. Tradition has it that the natives in my neighbourhood were forbidden to raise two crops, in consequence of having incurred the Divine displeasure; but a better reason is to be found in the fact that, in consequence of the second crop being ready for cutting just at the commencement of the rain, the harvesting of the grain is necessarily precarious, and the result seldom sufficient to repay the labour of the people and of the cattle employed in ploughing and preparing the ground.

Wheat is grown, but in small quantities, and of infe-

rior qualities; and I observe by the Returns that there are rather less than 9,000 acres devoted to it throughout the whole province. Several varieties of millets are also grown, but the proportion of this crop is extremely small. Oil-seeds also are grown to the extent of about 77,000 acres; sugar-cane to the extent of rather more than 77,000 acres; and tobacco is put down at rather more than 19,000 acres. Only 1,201 acres are put down to opium, and 20,111 to cotton. Fibres, I may add, are estimated at rather more than 7,000 acres; rice at 836,632; and raggee and other food grains at 2,198,476 acres.

The live-stock belonging to the Mysore farmer consists, in the wet districts of the western part of the province, entirely of cattle and buffaloes, but in many parts of the open country farmers keep considerable numbers of sheep and goats. The ordinary method of improving breeds, though very insufficiently attended to, seems to have been long practised by the people of Mysore, and we accordingly read in Buchanan (vol. ii. p. 8) that farmers send their cows to be kept with herds of the larger and superior breeds. The male calves produced were sent home to the farmer, but the female calves were left with the herd to be again crossed with the superior breeds, and the same process repeated. In this way the breed was entirely altered for the better in the third generation. But, as I have said before, breeding is very insufficiently attended to, and though, by the castration of inferior and the preservation of superior bulls, a certain amount of good is done, it may be said that the want of attention to breeding of good stock is one of the greatest defects in Indian husbandry. It is evident, however, that a certain amount of atten-

tion must be steadily directed to maintaining the breed of the large, well-bred cart and carriage cattle which are so frequently to be met with. This breed is entirely different from the common village breeds, used for ploughing and ordinary agricultural purposes, and would soon be lost if pains were not taken for its preservation. But in this instance it is much easier to point to the evil than to suggest a practical remedy. In England, from the country being divided into fields, the separation and improvement of breeds are easily and certainly carried out. But in India there are neither fields nor fences, and the cattle belonging to the farmers of a village are massed together and driven to a common grazing ground, where they not unfrequently mix with the herd of some neighbouring village. Under these circumstances the difficulties of improving a breed must obviously be considerable; in fact, so considerable that they may almost be held to be insurmountable. And here I conceive that a very little aid on the part of the Government would be of material advantage; but I shall reserve what I have to suggest on this subject for the concluding remarks of this chapter.

As regards sheep I have really no very reliable information to lay before the reader, excepting that the Government a good many years ago procured merino rams from Australia, with the view of introducing a superior breed into the Mysore country. But the project—from what causes I am ignorant—seems to have met with no success, and has been entirely given up. The wool of the native sheep is coarse and hairy, but seems to be very well adapted for the manufacture of the ordinary blankets used by the natives.

Having thus briefly glanced at the most prominent features of the agriculture of Mysore, it is time now to consider what can be done by the Government towards effecting improvements on the state of things as at present existing. And here I conceive the first thing to be done is to dismiss entirely the idea of, for the present, introducing any new machines for the economising of labour, as reaping or threshing machines. Where labour is very cheap, machines seldom pay, unless, for instance, in the case of an absolutely indispensable machine like the drilling machine; and it may interest the reader to learn that in the west of Ireland, and only a very few years ago, the reaping machine, in the hands of an experienced Scotch farmer, paid only infinitesimally better than hand-cutting. The farmer who tried the experiment, I may add, told me that by using reaping machines he calculated he had only saved £1 on the whole reaping of a considerable farm. Machines, too, for grinding corn are also of very little value where the women of the farmer's house have little better to do. Indeed, the only machine that I can think of that would be of any real importance is a machine for detaching the husk from rice that is being prepared for market; and even here it is seldom, I conceive, that water power could be procured at the season it is most required. I see no reason, however, why some cheap kind of windmill power should not be started, as winds blow very regularly in the Mysore country; and if a machine of this kind could be put up for a small sum, I see no reason why it should not come gradually into use. I merely, it must be remembered, throw this out as the only hint that I can conceive to be of any possible value, and it would still remain to be seen whether,

from the Himalayas, as to what European power first possessed Bombay, or as to the immense advantages of living under an enlightened and eminently law-devising Government. They will be able to tell of facts a good deal more interesting. And some interest will be aroused when the village lad has to tell of cattle of superior breed, of sheep of larger build and finer wool, and of plants which, unaided by the village magician, will drive away fever and dysentery. And when the lad grows up and retires to his village, you may depend upon it that he will not be contented with the things that satisfied his forefathers; nor will he rest satisfied till he has improved his stock, and filled his garden with every plant of practical interest. But I need not say more as to the advantages to be derived from the suggestions I have to make, and it will be more to the purpose if I describe, as briefly as possible, the system I would like to see carried out as regards the county farms.

The head of the county school, then, should be a man entirely fitted to be the head of the county farm, and the school should, if possible, be in the very centre of the farm. The farm itself should be entirely worked by the boys of the school; and though, at present, boys of Brahmin caste might be exempted from work, I feel persuaded that with the march of the age the Brahmins even will advance, and see nothing derogatory in work that their ancestors would have thought to be degrading. And by employing, for certain hours of the day, such of the boys as seem strong enough to work, the farm might easily be made to be self-supporting. Enough grain could easily be grown to feed the stock, and the annual sale of bulls and rams would readily pay for any extra labour that might be required. The sale also of useful

GROUP OF MUNSHABAD NATIVE

plants and improved kinds of corn seeds would add not a little to the result, and I have little doubt that under judicious management the farm might easily be made to pay its expenses. And it is here that I would recommend the introduction of agricultural exhibitions. Once a year I would have an examination, and give prizes to such of the scholars as had most distinguished themselves in the various branches of the educational system; and at the same time an exhibition might be held on the farm, which I feel sure would interest all the country round. Nor would I despise those attractions which by the solid Britisher are often, or I should say nearly always, neglected, and a few rupees laid out in sky-rockets and fireworks in general might terminate the day. This exhibition system might be gradually extended so as to include two or three counties, but a general exhibition for, say, a whole province is not, I think, a thing that should ever be attempted, at least in our generation.

I shall now conclude this chapter with a few remarks on those points which I think are of especial value to the people.

The improvement of the native breeds of cattle and sheep is, of course, the point which first of all claims attention;* and, in a country where the whole draught power available for agriculture consists of bullocks, it seems sufficiently obvious that to strengthen the breed would enable the farmer to plough deeper than he does at present without any additional expense, and that consideration alone is an ample one for paying the greatest attention to the subject. I need not, therefore, trouble the reader with further remarks as to the many

* See Appendix C.

other advantages a superior breed of cattle would confer on the people; nor need I weary him with details and suggestions for carrying out this scheme of stock improvement, as, if the principle of the proposed system is admitted to be sound, the rest would be easy. On the advantages, too, of improving the breed of sheep little need be said; but when we turn to the subject of manures we shall find rather more to say.

It has been pointed out, in a previous part of this chapter, that the Indians are very careful to utilise all the manure they can lay their hands on. There is, however, one exception to this—not, it is true, a very important one, considering the circumstances, but still worthy of a passing notice: I mean the use of bones as a manure, or rather the absence of this manure from the list of fertilising substances. In fact, the value of bones never seems, that I know of, to have been discovered by the natives; and I am led to think that this is partly owing, if not entirely, to the fact that bones are difficult of collection, and in a non-meat-eating country can never be supplied in sufficient quantities and at a low enough rate to prove remunerative. To tell the natives to use what bones can be found would be, therefore, of little practical value; and as it is evidently a most important matter to supply the people with phosphate of lime in some shape or other, I think that the Government in India should make every endeavour to discover the mineral phosphate of lime which exists in coprolites and in apatite. From inquiries I have made, I have no reason to know that the mineral phosphate has been discovered in India, with the exception of a discovery of fossil bone which a gentleman of experience told me had been made in the Punjaub. I

have little doubt, however, that this important manure will sooner or later be discovered, and it may be useful here to give a simple and ready test by which the presence of the phosphate of lime may be discovered.

To a portion of the substance add a small quantity of muriatic acid: heat slightly, and add ammonia. If the addition of ammonia is followed by a milk-white precipitate, this shows the presence of the phosphate of lime.

Now, if the means of applying this simple test were placed in the hands of all the principal district officials and engineers in India, and a small reward offered for the discovery of an available bed of the mineral phosphate, we should soon, I imagine, arrive at a satisfactory result, and thereby effect the greatest possible improvement in the fertilising resources of India.

The only other sort of manure that could be at all increased by the action of Government is leaf manure. In the chapter on Coffee the value of leaves as a manure is pointed out at some length, and it is shown, on the authority of Mr. MacDonald, that the leaves of many trees are particularly valuable. The natives of India seem long to have been aware of this, and, as Buchanan observed more than seventy years ago, large quantities are collected to add to the manure heaps. The value of the particular kinds of leaves is well known in my part of the country, and they are collected in considerable quantities, to be broken down by cattle in the sheds, and also to be used alone. In a country full of jungle, any quantity of leaves can, of course, be easily collected; but in the populous plains, where trees are few and far between, this manure, of course, is rarely to be had, and with the

view of increasing the supplies of this (under the circumstances) important manure, I would gladly see the Government establish a large plantation of the best kinds of trees on the waste land, or rather the uncultivated land of every village. And I would compel the inhabitants of every village to supply the whole labour for the formation of the plantation, and make the farmers of the village entirely responsible for its permanent maintenance. To our ideas this might seem, to say the least of it, rather an arbitrary way of going to work, and were the supply of leaves the only object to be gained by the measure, it might certainly seem to be hardly justifiable. But there are many other objects I have in view besides, and amongst the least of these may be mentioned supplies of firewood, and of wood for building and agricultural purposes. The greatest object, however, that I have in view, and an object that must readily occur to most people, is to modify climate, and to increase, or at least to economise, the rainfall. I have no intention here of going into the vexed question as to whether forests do or do not indirectly cause more rain to fall than otherwise would, and for my present purpose it is quite sufficient to point to this very obvious fact, namely, that air passing over a barren plain becomes very soon hot and arid, while air passing over a country studded with trees and patches of forest is naturally moist, and, comparatively speaking, cool. If these facts be assumed as altogether incontrovertible, it is evident that the climate of an elevated table-land like that of Mysore could be modified to an extraordinary extent if it was studded with plantations, instead of being so entirely open as it is at present; and I need not expatiate on the difference, as far as vegetation is

concerned, between an arid parching wind and a moist cool breeze. The Government of Mysore has for some years been endeavouring to induce the people to form plantations by the offer of land on the most liberal terms; but from want of information, and partly, perhaps, from the feeling of insecurity brought about by the numerous changes of one kind and another that have been effected, nothing whatever has been done towards carrying out this important project. And here we have a very good illustration of the peculiar vice of our Government in India. We find our rulers in India timid where they should be bold and imperious, and we find them bold and incautious where they should act with the most careful circumspection. We find our rulers incredibly rash in promulgating measures which are entirely distasteful to the people, and which tend to a serious unpopularity, and we find them, on the other hand, shrinking from the arbitrary exercise of power in a matter which, when once carried out, would carry to every native mind a greater idea of our wisdom and forethought than anything we could possibly do in India. Forgetting that "a' law's no justice," we force our laws down their throats by the ton. If we forced trees down their throats by the acre, it would be much more to the purpose. But there is no use in saying more, for few know what should and should not be done in India, and nobody cares.*

* Since writing the above I have met with some very valuable remarks on this subject in Dr. Bird's "Physiological Essays," which I cannot resist quoting at length. "Trees," says Dr. Bird, "render the atmosphere more uniformly moist. They do so partly by extracting moisture from the winds as they pass by, and partly by hindering the sun and winds from taking away that which they already possess. By means of the cool, which is the result of the evaporation from the multiplied surface of the foliage, they temper the hotter winds which are passing over them, and so induce them to part with a portion of their wet. . . . By rendering the atmosphere more uniformly moist, they temper the

I have said that at each county farm a small plot should be set apart for the cultivation of useful plants and trees, and especially of those useful for their medicinal qualities. At the head of these, of course, stands the cinchona, but there are many other medicinal plants and shrubs, the value of which should be taught in the village school. To any one who has lived as I have amongst the people, it is melancholy to see young children wasted with fever and ague, which a few grains of quinine might have arrested if applied in time, and to see people suffering on from various complaints which, as I have found by experience, readily yield to simple remedies. And, leaving all con-

heat and cold of the different seasons. Trees also cause the rainfall to be distributed more equally in time throughout the year. They bring down the atmospheric moisture in more frequent and gentle showers; whereas, in a country denuded of wood, this goes on increasing, until, from electrical and other causes, it is precipitated in floods, to the accompaniment of winds and lightning. These floods, joining together, rush down the slopes, and inundating the plains, pour themselves into the sea. This is what happens in the South of France now, as in recent times most of the Northern Pyrenees have been stripped of trees. Trees again, by inducing frequent and prolonged gentle showers, economise the water of a country, and so make it more available for existing vegetation, and for its future extension. They also, by chemical action and by friction against each other and the winds, add to the atmospheric electricity, and they modify sunlight. They rob it of most of its chemical, and many of its coloured rays, and then reflect it, thus softened, upon surrounding objects. . . . . They, by absorbing and radiating heat, modify it and give it new properties, in virtue of which it acts differently on us from what it does when it falls directly on us from the sun. Trees again, by their chemical action on the air, and on the ground in which they grow, prepare a soil for plants which require a richer food, but which are more useful to man in his daily life." Finally, Dr. Bird has discovered another important fact, viz., "that villages out in the open plain suffer far more from cholera, and the disease is more deadly there than in villages which are well wooded." This certainly is an interesting fact, and has, I believe, been universally confirmed in India. But, as regards my own part of the country, there are several differences in the circumstances which ought to be taken into consideration. The first is the fact of the people being more cleanly in their habits (so much is this the case that our local coolies will not use the same lines as the open or plain country labourers); the second is that the houses are more scattered; and the third is that in jungly countries there are few travellers. On my property (started fourteen years ago) there has never been but one case of cholera, and that occurred amongst a party of labourers who had fled from a village in the plains where cholera had broken out; and in one village contiguous to my property the oldest inhabitant never heard of a case.

siderations of humanity entirely on one side, I feel persuaded that Government would be amply rewarded for any expenses incurred on account of medicinal education; for the health of the population would be improved and conserved, and the number of the people would certainly be increased. Now, more Hindoos will cultivate more land, and therefore pay more taxes, and I have always thought it one of the most singular oversights that this important fact should have been so entirely lost sight of by our revenue authorities. They seem to have thought of filling their coffers in all manner of ways, but they never seem to have thought of filling them by the simple process of breeding plenty of Indians. It seems, however, that our Indian rulers have at least advanced so far as to have discovered that it does not pay to let people die by the million as they did in Orissa; and having got so far, it is just within the bounds of hope that they may one day see the advantages of taking every measure to increase the number, and to conserve the health of the population. It might, at first sight, seem that these objects might be more readily effected by the establishment of hospitals; but, independently of considerations of expense, there are many other obvious objections to depending upon establishments of that sort, which I need not waste time in enumerating; whereas a few hours a week might easily be set apart in the county school for instruction as regards the ways of using and growing the most useful medicinal plants, and, as the growing of these plants would be personally managed by the boys, the carrying out of this scheme would be at once cheap and effectual.

It is time now to draw this chapter to a conclusion, but, before doing so, it may be as well to take a back-

ward glance, and recapitulate as briefly as possible at least a portion of the ground we have traversed.

In considering, then, Indian agriculture in general, we first of all glanced at some of the delusions at present existing concerning it, and endeavoured to trace at least some of them to their source. We then took particular notice of the delusions existing regarding the use of cattle-dung for fuel, and reasons were given to show that, so far from this practice being of any detriment to the country, it was the cause of a great deal of manure being added to the soil that would otherwise be entirely lost. And it was then pointed out that the natives were particularly careful to utilise all the manure procurable, and that they were even in the habit of paying the flock-masters to induce them to fold sheep on the arable lands. Turning next to the tillage operations, we saw that the depth of ploughing on dry lands was about 4½ in., or nearly the same depth attained in this country where grass or lea land is ploughed up; and it was pointed out that the soil, in consequence of the frequency of the ploughings, was always reduced to a very fine state of comminution. The Mysore drilling machine was next compared with that in use in the Salisbury plains, and the former was shown to be much cheaper in every possible way; and it was also pointed out that, as regards a cleanly and careful drill husbandry, the farmers of Mysore have little to learn from us. We next remarked on the rotation of crops in the Mysore country, and saw reason to conclude that though the rotation is a narrow one, it is impossible, on account of the climate, to alter it. We then glanced at the attention paid by Indians to the breeding of cattle and sheep, and though it was shown that the natives are aware of the importance of

improving their stock, saw reason to think that this branch of industry had been much neglected. In commencing to consider what can be done towards improving the general state of husbandry in all its branches, we came to the conclusion that, where labour is as low as it is in India, machines for the economisation of labour could never pay; and it was also pointed out that no good could be done by holding at intervals large agricultural exhibitions. An opinion was next expressed as to the advisability of keeping a farm at the headquarters of each county. It was suggested, further, that the county school should be in the middle of the farm, and that the head of the school should superintend, or at least have charge of, the agricultural and breeding operations; and it was shown that, by making use of the boys in working the farm, and by selling off annually a portion of the stock, the farm itself might be made self-supporting. It was also suggested that at each county farm an exhibition should be held annually, and that in the course of time exhibitions might be held so as to include several counties. The importance of discovering the mineral phosphate of lime was next remarked on, and it was suggested that the only other way of adding to the manurial resources of the country would be by forming plantations of trees whose leaves were valuable for manure. The general advantages of plantations to the people as regards improving the climate were also pointed to, and it was recommended that the people of every village should be forced to plant trees in the vicinity of the village. And, finally, it was pointed out that by forming a garden full of the most useful medicinal plants, and by instructing the boys of each county school how to cultivate them, a large amount

of good might be effected by thus placing in the hands of every class of the people cheap and simple remedies for the prevailing diseases from which they suffer.

One word more. If the Government resolves on doing anything towards improving the general agricultural knowledge of the country, it should always be borne in mind that no good will be effected by commencing at the top. In everything we see this fatal tendency, and in no way more conspicuously has it been shown than in the attempts at educating the people. What we must have in everything is a wide base, and we should be content to wait many years for the crowning-point of the edifice. Hitherto we have been merely acting like children. To raise the people of India we have commenced with English education, which is quite beyond their reach. To improve their agricultural knowledge we have commenced with large central exhibitions, which have been throughout a loss and a laughing-stock.*

* In Indian Administration Reports the most valuable information is, of course, entirely wanting. The Mysore Report for 1868-69 consists of no less than 376 pages, and yet there is not a single agricultural statistic of any practical value. We are told that "the drinking and cooking water of the prisoners is excellent and carefully filtered, that the bathing arrangements detailed in Section I. are now very complete, and that no change has been made in the prisoners' clothing during the past year;" and I suppose we shall some day be duly informed whenever a prisoner gets a pain in his stomach. The reader will find some remarks on agricultural production, and the particular value of statistics, in Appendix D.

CHAPTER X.

COFFEE-PLANTING.

I HAVE always maintained that the members of this nation have invariably been found to excel in whatever they seriously attempted. As an instance of the superiority that has, by the hereditary transmission of qualities, been invariably brought about, and as a proof that caste, by confining men to particular callings, has called into existence a superior proficiency, Elphinstone has alleged that the Indian hereditary thieves beat all the world. But notwithstanding all the stories that have been told, and all the feats that have been indisputably performed, I doubt if an experienced, high-class London burglar does not frequently display combinations and resources which are far beyond the reach of his Indian contemporaries. And just as I believe that the first-class London thieves beat all other thieves, so do I believe that the first-class London adulterator beats all other adulterators. And if other claims to an exalted proficiency in the art were wanting, I feel sure that his claims in the article of coffee alone would at once place him at the head of the whole civilised world. I said of the civilised world, because just as a kind of wild, irreclaimable savagedom is the natural inheritance of the Red Indian, so is adulteration the natural inheritance of

the English grocer; and it is extremely doubtful whether in future, instead of talking of civilised and uncivilised men, it will not one day answer the purpose equally well to speak of adulterators and non-adulterators. It is melancholy indeed to contemplate the straits to which the human animal is incessantly driven to, and the temptations which impel him to prey upon his species. We are apt to imagine that England is a great deal the better because illegal proceedings are seldom combined with force; but the force that was previously applied is not lost—it is merely transferred from the outside to the inside of the body. In ancient days it was your money or your life; now it is your money certainly, plus sand, and poisons, and dirt, to wear out your alimentary canal. The man is at your throat all the same. Centuries ago he was a lawless plunderer; now he is a lawless grocer. I doubt here if I am not rather too disinterested in talking against your lawless grocer; for I cannot help suspecting that the high price that all the Mysore coffee obtains is not a little owing to the fact that the strongest and finest flavours can pass off the most ground nuts or the most chicory. But, after all, I may comfort myself with the reflection that what I have to say will run off like water from a duck's back, and that, even if I did produce any impression, it would merely be the impression that the detectives produce on the thieves, and would result in a more skilful system of adulteration. In fact, adulterators, in the hot pursuit of the almighty dollar, are sure to win, and are always sure to be sufficiently ahead of the police. And if we want evidence in support of this, we have only to turn to that collected in a paper which appeared in the June 1870 number of *Fraser's Magazine*. There we are told

that, in his Report of 1867, Mr. Phillips observes that —"A duty which imposes considerable labour upon the laboratory is that of keeping pace with the ever-increasing ingenuity of those traders who resort to the sophistication of their dutiable commodities as a means of meeting the keen competition in trade, and who hope to escape detection by the use of new methods of adulteration. It occasionally happens," he adds, "that adulterants are employed which, from their fine state of comminution, or from other causes, baffle identification, both by myself and by my most experienced assistants for a considerable time. . . . . Not unfrequently samples have to be analysed by my assistants, to which the attention of chemists had not previously been directed; and the special researches consequent thereupon constitute an important part of the work of my department, and require often for a considerable time the closest attention of my assistants."

With reference to coffee we are told by Mr. Phillips that —"There is probably no article of general consumption on which a duty is levied, by means of which the purchasers are so imposed upon as by coffee when supplied in the ground state, the low-priced descriptions lately examined in the laboratory having been found to consist almost entirely of chicory. To neutralise the objectionable and earthy taste produced when chicory is extensively mixed with coffee, a practice has of late prevailed of adding to such low-priced mixtures caramel or burnt sugar, which, by its bitterness, serves to conceal the disagreeable flavour imparted by chicory."

Warned by the press, and by a long and bitter experience, the natives of these islands bethought themselves of buying the berry roasted, and grinding it at home.

Here, at least, we are safe, they thought, and it at first really seemed that they had stolen a march on the adulterators. But they did not long enjoy their triumph. To meet the new difficulty the aid of the mechanic had this time to be called in, and he soon produced a machine for the manufacturing of imitation coffee berries, and accordingly we read that—"It was likewise stated to the Select Committee by a witness who had seen the specification at the Enrolment Office, that Messrs. Duckworth, of Liverpool, took out a patent for certain improvements in the manufacture of chicory, and for compressing chicory into the form of berries or any other arbitrary forms. I had occasion, about the year 1851, to take a sample of these berries, and when mixed with coffee, although to any one acquainted with the nature of roasted coffee the difference *might be observable, to the general public* I do not think it would. They were in the form of coffee berries. I never saw them in any other form: whether they were compressed into other forms I am not aware."

The only thing now left to the coffee consumer is to buy the original raw berry itself; but people in England will not be at the trouble of roasting it, and often, if they did take to doing so, the adulterator might still steal a march on them by manufacturing imitation raw berries to mix with the real ones. I am not aware whether this has ever been attempted; but if it has not, it must have only been because the public do not buy raw coffee in sufficient quantities to make an imitation raw-berry manufactory pay.

From what has now been said, and from cheering proofs that have been given of the adulterative powers of

England, it is plain that, supposing I am correct in attributing at least some part of the high price paid for superior coffees to their power of passing off a greater quantity of adulterative matter, I cannot do much harm to my neighbours in Mysore by aiming a few more blows at coffee adulterations, and I accordingly proceed to offer one or two observations more before closing this important branch of coffee.

Some years ago a member of a large wholesale coffee-dealing firm was showing me some new machinery that had been invented by one of the firm for roasting coffee. While I was admiring the ingenuity of the arrangements, I saw a man wheeling out of the far corner of the building a large truck. "What is that?" I asked. "That," said my guide, "is chicory." "Chicory!" I observed; "that is the enemy of coffee." "Not at all," was the answer; "we consider chicory to be the friend of coffee." I said no more then; but I propose to ask now whether chicory is indeed the friend of coffee. Now, as far as I have been able to discover, chicory has immensely aided in lessening the consumption of coffee in this country, and it has done so from the fact of its being a substance decidedly injurious to the system, and from its being more especially injurious to all those who have not strong constitutions. The effects of chicory taken alone were clearly proved by Dr. Hassell to result in feelings of drowsiness, weight of the stomach, and great indisposition to exertion, and, in two instances, headache soon followed. Experiments conducted with coffee at 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb., but which was largely adulterated with chicory, did not produce such disagreeable results, but the effect showed itself by bringing on diarrhœa. But, from the injurious results

that ensued from chicory taken alone, it is plain that it does produce some very disagreeable results, and I therefore think that we may reasonably conclude that many of the people who, from its disagreeing with them, cannot drink coffee at present, are only unable to do so because this adulterative substance is generally present, and to the extent of from eighteen to twenty per cent.; and as for the low-priced coffees, as has been previously shown, they are almost wholly composed of chicory. The next point to be taken into consideration is, that chicory has only about half the nutritive value of coffee; and when we come to consider that chicory falls, as a food, to half the value of coffee, and that it produces many disagreeable and no agreeable effects, I need not waste more words in showing that chicory is certainly rather the enemy than the friend of coffee. I am aware, of course, that there are numerous reasons to be assigned for the falling off* in the consumption of coffee in this country; but when I find, on the high authority of M. Payen, that coffee is very nourishing, that it contains a large quantity of nitrogen, and three times as much nutriment as tea, it is difficult to conclude that, with these advantages, it would have lost so much ground as it has done, were it not for the difficulty experienced in getting it unmixed with chicory and other deleterious substances.

One word more as to adulteration, and I pass on to the pleasanter, if not the more interesting, subject of the growth of the berry.

"The original tendency," to use a Chinese maxim, "of man's heart is to do right; and if a due caution be observed, it will not of itself go wrong." The blame,

* The amount of coffee retained for home consumption amounted in 1847 to 37,441,373 lbs., while in the year 1867 we only retained 21,289,106 lbs.

then, lies with those who have the power of providing that "due caution" which seems so necessary to uprightness. But sufficient checks not having been imposed at first, the race of adulteration has set in with a vengeance; and the national character having acquired an adulterative bend, hard indeed is the task to get it straight again. But hard though the task may be, a serious effort should be made; for just look at the results of adulteration, as expressed in the Report of the committee, and which are quoted in the magazine I have previously borrowed from:—

"Not only," we are told, "is the public health exposed to danger, and pecuniary fraud committed on the whole community, but the public morality is tainted, and the high commercial character of this country seriously lowered both at home and in the eyes of foreign countries. Though happily very many refuse, under every temptation, to falsify the quality of their wares, there are, unfortunately, large numbers who, though reluctantly practising deception, yield to the pernicious contagion of example, or to the hard pressure of competition forced upon them by their less scrupulous neighbours."

But go where you will, and turn the conversation on whatever subject of trade or commerce, or buying and selling, you choose, and you will find that the violent rush now prevailing for money, and quick money, is such that nothing but the severest penal enactments can possibly check the evils that arise from the excessive competition now prevailing. Laws and regulations have been built all over the world on the supposition that man has been provided with a fair amount of unyielding honesty; but, whatever may have been the case in

former times, it is certain that now man yields with extraordinary facility to the smallest pull of the almighty-dollar string. There is no permanent alteration, of course, in man; but there is, it seems, a considerable alteration in the quantities of temptation he is subjected to, and to these altered conditions our laws should be adapted. And just as the sambur on the Neilgherry Hills has become more nocturnal in its habits in consequence of the pressure of circumstances, so has man become more rascally, partly from pressure, partly from temptation; so that all round the world you will find things that were formerly taken in good faith, as to weight and quality, have now to be rigidly tested. Some people still allege that our commercial honesty is better than can be found amongst the people of other countries; but there seems reason to think now that our old reputation has faded, and faded irretrievably. Some years ago a gentleman I happened to be travelling with told me that he had lately been asking an old native merchant at Calcutta what he thought of the English as a commercial people. "Well," said the old man, "for five-and-twenty years I dealt with the English, and always thought them the best people in the world to have anything to do with; but," he added, "since the company mania has set in, I have gone back to my own countrymen." But I must now finally quit this interminable and disagreeable subject, and address myself more particularly to the subject of this chapter.

The earliest notice I can find of coffee in India is contained in a Dutch work entitled, "Letters from Malabar," by Jacob Canter Visscher, chaplain at Cochin. This collection of letters has been translated by Major Drury, or rather at his instance, and as the date of the

Dutch editor's preface is 1743, I conclude that the coffee-plant must have been introduced at a somewhat earlier date; for, at page 160, we read that "the coffee shrub is planted in gardens for pleasure, and yields plenty of fruit, which attains a proper degree of ripeness. But it has not the refined taste of the Mocha coffee. An entire new plantation," we are also informed, "of coffee shrubs has been laid out in Ceylon." The plant, however, though introduced at this early period, does not seem to have met with much attention in India, and I can find no other allusions to coffee in Indian books till we come to Heyne's Tracts, which were published in 1800, and we are there merely told that coffee was sold in the bazaars of Bangalore and Scringapatam.

Turning now to the history of coffee in Mysore, we find that there is no official record of either plant or planting further back than the year 1822; but tradition seldom fails in some marvellous story, and we accordingly are told by Colonel Onslow that the plant was said to have been introduced by a Mussulman pilgrim, who brought seven berries from Arabia about two hundred years ago. These berries he planted round his mutt, on the Baba Booden hills of Mysore, near which some very old trees may still be seen. But though the plant seems to have been known from time immemorial, the berry has never come into use amongst the people who grow it; and when I first located myself in Munzerabad, about fifteen years ago, the farmers who grew coffee often asked me what we did with it, and I have repeatedly been asked whether we ate the berry, and of what use it could possibly be. Nor, though now aware of the use of it, have I ever heard of a native farmer

drinking coffee, except one man, whom I persuaded to try it, and he, after a few experiments, found that he was seized with violent dysenteric symptoms,* which were naturally brought on by his using his coffee too soon after it had been picked. The effect of using coffee (and especially native coffee, which is a mixture of green and ripe berries, and which is always fermented, in order that the skin may be more easily detached) that has not been kept for some time is generally to bring on diarrhœa, and I have no doubt that this common result, and the ignorance of the natives as to the necessity of keeping the berry, have probably produced a general conclusion that it is better to sell the coffee, and lay out the money in something which will produce a pleasanter effect on the system. But, however that may be, it is certain that the native farmers do not care about coffee as a beverage at all, and it is very doubtful if they will ever take to it.

Having thus briefly alluded to the use, or the ignorance of the use, of coffee as far as the natives are concerned, we may now say a few words more as to its history in Mysore, before proceeding to discuss planting in general. Some years, then, after the country had been

* I may here mention some conclusions as to the use of coffee amongst our troops which may be of use to our medical authorities in India, and which have been more particularly forced on my attention by the effect which will invariably be found to arise from using fresh native coffee. The coffee crop in India is picked, say, in December, and the new crop finds its way into the market a few months later Now, the great cholera and dysentery season amongst the troops in Bangalore is generally in April and May, and I have very little doubt that the coffee supplied to the troops is from the new native crop, as all the produce of the English planter is sent directly out of the country; and even were it not, it would still, I conceive, be partially liable to the same objection that new native coffee is. This may seem a trifling matter, but in a tropical climate, and in an unhealthy season, a very little may, and no doubt often does, turn the scale. And what I should propose for the future is that the Government should procure regular supplies of sound plantation coffee, and always have a year's consumption in advance.

handed over to British management, a few Europeans took up the cultivation of coffee in the north-western division of the province; but, for some reason or other, little progress seems to have been made. I fancy, however, that it was more the want of information than anything else that prevented an extension of planting, and partly, perhaps, the fact that Mysore was merely a native state under British supervision, which might be *any day withdrawn. But, whatever the reason was,* there was only one plantation proprietor on our side of the province when I entered it in 1855; and, at the original seat of coffee in the Nuggur division to the north, there were only three English European planters. Nor, for a good many years later, were their numbers materially increased. On one side of the country two other planters took up land at the same time as myself, but this only made a total of four, and I do not think this number received any addition for some five years more. These were glorious days in Munzerabad, when we enjoyed our hunting-grounds and our labour market in peace, and when twelve long miles separated each planter from his neighbour. But now, alas! all is changed: bears have become scarce, labour has become dear, seasons have become drier, it is impossible to ascend a *mountain without the* eye being offended by the glaring white walls of bungalows not more than four or five miles apart, and, in short, the county is hardly worth living in. But it is useless and unprofitable to waste time and paper on vain regrets, and if bears are scarcer, and labour nearly three times as dear as it used to be, we have some small sets-off in the shape of new bridges and improved roads, for all of which we should be duly thankful. Then we had no grievances in those

days; but this source of unhappiness has now been removed, and is there not the Munzerabad Planters' Association which ventilates whatever woes can be found?

And here it may not be out of place to say a few words as to the treatment the planters in Mysore have received at the hands of Government from the days of Sir Mark Cubbon to the present time. Whatever may be the case with planters in other parts of India, and however much they may have to say, I feel sure that in Mysore at least the planters have always been treated with an unvarying courtesy and consideration which merit all the acknowledgments that could possibly be recorded. We have not, of course, got all we want. Who has? But everything that could reasonably be granted we have had cheerfully and ungrudgingly; and because, as a person who has consistently endeavoured to obtain what can be got, I have naturally advocated reduction of taxation and improvements in the means of communication, it does not therefore follow that I should fail to own; and be glad to own, that our Governors have been ever good and kindly men, who did all they could for us, as members of that community which was committed to their charge. The only point we had any real reason to talk about was, that our taxation was, as compared with the taxation in the Queen's territories, unreasonably high. Instead of an acreage tax, as levied in the imperial territories, we have a duty or excise tax of 2*s.* a cwt., which amounts at the lowest to 10*s.* an acre, and on fairly good crops to at least 14*s.*, while the acreage tax of Coorg amounts only to 4*s.* an acre. It is true that, in bad seasons, our tax falls with the amount of our crops, but even then it is far in

excess of the rates prevailing in the Queen's territories. All this was duly represented to Mr. Bowring, and he recommended a reduction of the tax to 1*s.* 6*d.* a cwt., which, however, the Governor-General in council, why and wherefore does not appear, refused to sanction. It may be alleged that a tax on the produce naturally encouraged a careless and slovenly cultivation, that the tax came heaviest per acre on the best cultivated, and hence the system itself was radically bad. But it was just one of those systems which were admirably suited to the situation; for the natives produced at least five times the produce that Europeans did, and it is certain that under an acreage tax the native cultivation would have been much discouraged, while the smallness of the patches of land which they cultivated would have rendered it impossible for Europeans to absorb what would have been left entirely waste had an acreage tax been adopted. All that a native had to do was to put down in his garden, or in any patch of jungle near his house, a few plants, which grew as they best could while he was sleeping, and the produce, when sold to the native merchant, was taxed when he carried it beyond the frontier to the west, or into the next county towards the east. Now, cultivated in the slovenly native fashion, or rather not cultivated at all, the tree bears little or nothing for six or seven years, and if, previous to the plant coming into bearing, the farmer had to pay tax, he would never have put down a plant at all; and therefore this system, apparently bad, and contrary to all the laws of what is commonly called political economy, answered so well that the natives became richer, and the Government coffers fuller. It might, of course, be urged that the system should now be altered, but the

survey would be costly, and, from the minute subdivision of patches, and from the fact of every one putting down a few trees around his house, an amount of trouble and annoyance would arise, and opportunities for extortion would be brought about, which would more than counterbalance all the advantages that could possibly be imagined from a system theoretically the best. It is to be hoped, therefore, that the present system may be let alone, and, if it can be proved that the taxation is higher than that existing elsewhere, the duty should be reduced to such an extent as to equalise the taxation to what it would be under the acreage tax in British territory. If this reform was carried out, the Mysore planters would indeed be in a sad state, for they would not have a single substantial grievance left that I am aware of. As, however, the Government does not seem at all disposed to come down in its demands, it is tolerably certain that this isolated grievance will furnish us with a bone to pick for many a year to come.

Having thus said something of the way the Government has got on with us, it now remains to say a few words as to how we get on with it, and with the officials who represent it. And here I find that we have very little to say. We have always got on with Government officials, and they have always got on with us. The fact was, we recognised our position, and did not talk about our rights. In truth, the British settler in India has no business to talk about his rights at all, or to magnify his importance in any way. I can easily see that the infusion of a few energetic Europeans can start a new industry, and give an impetus to every sort of industrial enterprise; but when people talk about settlers strengthening the hands of Government, it seems

to me that something extremely like nonsense is being uttered. I can quite understand the presence of a few scattered settlers, or rather capitalists (for to call us settlers is a mere misnomer), weakening the hands of Government in troubled times, and I can quite understand the tendency often shown to make a great fuss because roads and works are not undertaken which are to benefit the Britisher in isolated situations, and enable him to get his produce to market; but what strength is to accrue to Government I am really at a loss to understand. Nor does it require more than a moment's reflection to see that, supposing disturbances to occur in Mysore, there would be a tremendous howl raised if the Government, at the first sign of danger, did not detach troops to secure the safety and property of the planters in the province. In Mysore, however, I think the planters have recognised themselves at their proper value; and just because they have done so, do I think that the Government has been all the more disposed to do what it could for them. And here I may be allowed to hint for the benefit of Indian settlers in general, that there is a great deal in the way of putting things, and a great deal also in selecting judicious times for introducing one's wants to the notice of the official mind. An idea that may seem unreasonable and troublesome during the worry and heat of the day, or even after the fatigues of the day are over, will appear far from being either the one or the other if introduced after breakfast. Supposing, then, that the official of your district is going to pay you a visit, you should be careful to have everything prepared in the way of comfort that you can possibly think of, and make no mention of anything that you and your neighbours want till breakfast is finished.

Then, when the official, refreshed with his bath and comforted by his breakfast, throws himself back in his chair and lights his cheroot, and when he has smoked the pipe of peace for about three minutes, then is the time to hint of that new line of road that you want, of the advantages that would arise from the improvement of a road that perhaps stands much in need of it, or of the erection of a bridge which would add materially to your comfort and to the value of your property. At these moments the official mind is more thoroughly open to the reception of truth than at any other time I know of, and if in these precious moments you cannot successfully insinuate your wants, you may depend upon it that your demands must be very unreasonable indeed.

Another hint I may be allowed to offer is, that a settler should, above all things, manage his affairs without constantly applying here and applying there for Government assistance, and especially for regulations which may aid him more effectually in apprehending runaway coolies. The fact is that improvements in the methods of apprehension lead to no good result, and only end in plantation-managers being more careless than ever in making advances without adequate security, or sufficient inquiry into the character of the people to whom advances are made for the procuring of labour. My managers in India have standing orders on no account to go into a court; and I do not think that within the last ten years either myself or my managers have ever been in a court except once, and that was with the view of recovering a few advances from people who had undertaken to procure labour from a distance. In fact, since my estates were started in 1855, though I have advanced sums from a few shillings

per man up to £5, and even more, I do not think I have lost, in all that time, more than £40 or £50, and some part of that sum was on account of deaths. Where the means of apprehension are ready and cheap, planters will advance sums of money to men whom they know nothing of, to procure labour; and I have known labour procured in this way all the way from Bangalore (one hundred and forty miles distant), the man employed to procure the coolies picking up any one he could find, without caring anything at all as to character. The coolies arrive, and shortly bolt to Bangalore; then the planter has the men apprehended and posted out to the estate, merely to bolt again on the next opportunity. Now, this carelessness naturally puts the officials of all classes to more or less trouble, and I need not, therefore, say more as to the advisability of resolving to manage your affairs without any Government aid whatever.

After this long, but I hope not altogether useless digression, it is time to turn the attention of the reader to coffee and coffee-planting, from which I do not mean to depart till the end of the chapter.

I dare say that most of my readers are familiar with the shape of the coffee of commerce, and if they are not, they have only to look into any grocer's shop-window to see that it is a bluish-green seed, or berry, of an oblong shape, flat on one side, with a groove down the centre, and rounded on the other. If you take two of these seeds, cover each of them with a brittle husk, place the two flat sides together, and cover the two husk-enveloped seeds with a soft pulpy substance of a cherry red, and with a smooth shiny skin, you have then ripe coffee as picked from the tree. And when you see berries of a round shape, commonly called pea-berries, all you have

to do is to cover each with the brittle parchment, and with the pulp as before, and you will then have ripe pea-berry cherry coffee, which, I may particularly explain, has only one rounded berry, instead of the two flat-sided ones found in ordinary coffee. This pea-berry coffee seldom occurs in young and vigorous trees, and seems to result from weakness or age, for it is mostly to be met with in old or diseased coffee-trees. This berry used generally, at one time, to fetch a higher price than the flat-sided ones, in consequence of an idea prevailing that it was of superior flavour, and perhaps also from the fact that it was, from its shape, more easily and perfectly roasted; but, for a good many years past, I have observed that we obtain the highest price for the largest-sized flat-sided berries. I need hardly tell the reader that there is an enormous difference in the value of particular kinds of coffee; but the reader will probably be surprised to find that from the same tree, and in the same season, coffee is commonly picked that varies in value from 50*s.* to perhaps 90*s.* or 100*s.* per cwt.—the berries that the tree has not strength enough to perfect and ripen forming the first, and the last consisting, of course, of the largest and choicest fruits. Besides these descriptions of ordinary coffee and pea-berry coffee, there is a third kind, which is known as monkey or jackal coffee, about which a good deal of misunderstanding seems to have prevailed. Accordingly, we find that Dr. Shortt asserts, in his "Handbook of Planting for Southern India," "that all planters know that what is termed jackal coffee is held in greater estimation than what is called planter's coffee. Why should this be the case?" he asks; "and why should such a difference be caused by the berries passing

through the intestinal canal of a jackal?" But the question as to why jackal coffee excels other coffee is unfortunately liable to the same test as the question that was once put to a learned society of, "Why does not a tub full of water overflow when a fish is put into it?" And the reader may recollect that, after a long discussion, the whole question was solved by some one proposing to put a fish into a tub full of water, which being done, and the water being found to overflow, the whole question fell to the ground. The fact is that jackal coffee, so called, has very little to do with the intestines of that or any other animal. It consists principally of coffee that has been knocked off the trees, or spilt by the pickers, of green berries that will not ripen, and of stray berries that have dried on the trees. Along with all this are occasionally picked up a few of those stercoraceous deposits to which Dr. Shortt imagines that such a high value is attached, and hence the name of jackal or monkey coffee is given to these tail-end scrapings of the crop. But monkeys and jackals are not the only animals that are fond of this sweet, syrup-tasted pulp, for dogs, pigs, cats, and birds seem to be equally desirous of consuming as much of the crop as they can eat, and the worst of it is that they seem to digest it, or rather the pulp, and get rid of the seeds with extraordinary rapidity. Spirit, of course, can easily be made from the pulp, and I believe that this has often been done in Ceylon and in the West Indies, but in India I never heard of the pulp being used for anything but manure.

Having thus said as much about the berry as the reader will probably care to hear, we may now say a few words as to the appearance of the plant. And here

I think it hardly worth while to give any botanical details regarding the tree further than to say that it belongs to the order of *Cinchonaceæ*, in which, I may remind the reader, are classed the quinine-yielding trees which have been so successfully introduced into India. It will be more to the purpose if I advance to a description which I hope will be fairly intelligible to the general reader.

I may commence, then, by observing that a full-grown coffee-tree, if allowed to attain its natural height, resembles very closely a Portugal laurel which has sprung up rather tall and slim. In fact, the likeness is so exact that, at a distance of thirty or forty yards, it would be difficult to tell one shrub from the other. When, however, the coffee-tree is topped at the height of between four and five feet, which it usually is by the European planter, the resemblance is not quite so striking, as, in comparing it with an under-sized Portugal laurel, we shall at once be struck with the less regular and more bushy appearance of the latter. But the resemblance is even then tolerably close, and is at least a great deal more so than to any shrub I know of in these islands. But the growth of the coffee-tree is infinitely more regular than that of the laurel. The branches spring in opposite pairs from the stem, and each pair shoots out at right angles to the pair above and the pair below; thus, supposing that the pair below shoots out north and south, the pair above will grow east and west, and so on alternately. To this rule I have observed only one exception, and that is where three branches spring out all up the tree in place of the usual pair. But this is very rare, and I have never met with more than two or three instances of it. The leaves spring in pairs from the branches, and at the

base of the leaves the blossom-buds are formed. The blossoms, when fully developed, are clustered together, and present, at a little distance, much the appearance of a bunch of white hawthorn, though in smell and form each blossom resembles jasmine more nearly than any other flower I know of. To each cluster there are from ten to twenty and even thirty and thirty-two blossoms, which, if the season is a good one, produce as many berries, so that from a single cluster of berries upwards of sixty seeds may be produced. The blossom remains in full beauty for a few days only. It then rapidly fades and falls, and is succeeded by the miniature berry, which comes to perfection in from six to eight months, and, till the ripening stage commences, is of a green colour. When the berry is ripe, it is spoken of as cherry coffee, from its resemblance to that fruit. The coffee-tree is tap-rooted, and the wood of a yellowish white, and so hard that it has been used with advantage for woodcuts. A stem of ordinary size is about three inches in diameter: the stem bark of the fully-grown tree is of a greyish white, the newly-grown branch bark of a light brown.

Having thus endeavoured to describe the general appearance of the tree, with its flowers and fruits, I shall now write down as briefly as possible the methods usually pursued in growing it.

The coffee-plant may be propagated either by cuttings, buddings, or by seed; but I have never known it to be propagated by the planters by either of the first two methods; and, as it is evident that they must be troublesome and objectionable from a variety of reasons, I shall confine my observations entirely to the last method of propagating the plant; and, while doing so,

shall, at the same time, give the results of my experience as to the formation of nurseries.

And here I may observe, at the outset, that there is no branch of planting of more importance, and none that I have seen so frequently mismanaged and neglected, as the production of the plant in the nursery. In the fine coffee-growing climate of Ceylon the production of nursery plants must, I should think, be a comparatively easy matter, but, with our long droughts and withering east winds, the greatest care and the most constant watching are absolutely necessary to the attainment of success. And the first thing of importance to be noticed is, of course, the advisability of having your nursery as close as possible to your house. On my estate we have always been the most successful plant-growers in the district; and though this may have been in part attributable to our excellent command of water, the fact of the nursery being only a hundred yards from the bungalow had, I suspect, not a little to say to the result. The next point to be considered as regards nurseries is, that it is far cheaper to carry soil to water than water to soil. In selecting, then, a place for a nursery, such a command of water as will enable you to flood every bed, and so to thoroughly saturate the soil, is indispensable; and if you cannot get a good supply of water on forest land by forming a tank or diverting a stream, you will find it the cheapest plan, in the end, to transport jungle soil to the depth of a foot or eighteen inches, and lay it down on any land which has command of water. A couple of boys will irrigate effectually a large nursery if the water can be conducted to each bed, while twenty men or women will be required to carry water as many yards to a nursery of the same

size, and even then the beds will be at best but half watered. And yet I have seen a neighbour of mine, day after day and month after month, employ at least twenty women in watering a nursery by hand. But cheapness alone is not the only advantage to be gained by flooding the beds; for this process of watering can be carried on at any time of day, while, without scorching the leaves, watering-pots cannot be used except early in the morning and late in the afternoon, or rather evening.

Supposing that your nursery can be formed, as it of course should be, if possible, on forest land, the jungle should be felled, cut up, and carried or rolled off the ground, and not, as is commonly done, burnt on it. This plan, I am aware, is expensive, but I am confident that it will be found to pay well, as the surface mould is not injured, and the friable nature of the soil is thus preserved intact. And I need not employ much time in pointing out that a fire, by consuming the vegetable matter on the surface, renders the soil more tenacious, and less suitable to the springing of the seed. The beds should never exceed five feet in breadth, and each bed should be about sixteen feet in length. Between the first row of beds and the second, and so on at the foot of each row of beds, shallow channels should be cut, along which water can be conducted to the head of each bed; and in these channels during the dry season water should be allowed to run continuously. It will percolate gradually into the land, and so keep it cool and moist. During the hot weather the longitudinal division between the beds should consist of earth heaped up to the height of about three inches. This will not only render the flooding of the beds more complete, but will

prevent them drying up as rapidly as they otherwise would. These raised divisions should be removed in the monsoon, and each division converted into a channel, to convey away the superfluous rain-water. Thus, in the monsoon, at every five feet (the beds are 5 feet wide by 16 feet long) you will have a drain, and in the dry weather a little ridge of earth between each bed.

As regards seed there is very little to be said. It should, of course, as a matter of precaution, be selected from the finest and healthiest trees, and consist of the finest berries you can find. These precautions are, however, seldom attended to; nor have I been able to ascertain any facts which tend to show that plants from carefully-selected seeds are any better than others; for I have put down seeds from trees, both native and plantation, of all ages, and in every kind of way,—pulped by machinery, pulped by hand, not pulped at all, quite fresh, and six months old,—and could never perceive any difference in the way the seeds came up, or in the plants produced from them. As a matter of convenience, however, I should prefer separating the seeds from the pulp, and putting them down in drills. In the drills the seed should be put down at least a quarter of an inch apart, and between the drills should be left a space of from four to five inches. The thinnings may be either transplanted or thrown away. The seed should be put down in March or April, and in fourteen months you ought to have excellent plants if the soil consists of virgin land. Where, however, a crop of plants has been previously taken from the soil, the seed should be put down a month or two earlier. Some planters, I may here observe, put down in the nursery seedlings that have sprung up under the old coffee-trees; but this is a

plan no one should adopt who can readily procure seed, and especially where the supply of water is good. During the hot-weather months the young plants should be shaded in this way:—Posts about four feet high, with forked heads, should be driven into the ground at the corner of each bed. Long sticks should then be laid from post to post, then cross-sticks, then date grass, or, what I have found to be the best, reeds that are commonly to be found growing in the ravines of the jungle. Some months before the plants are required this shade should be judiciously thinned, and ultimately removed altogether, in order to harden off the plants by exposure to the sun. The plant too, at that time, should be grown nearly to the size required, and should be stinted of water and brought to a stand-still, in order that the head of the plant and the extremities of the branches may solidify; for, if your plant is put out in the plantation with newly-formed and tender shoots, it runs a great risk of being nipped off by the scorching rays of the sun, which (and in occasional seasons this is not unlikely to happen) sometimes makes its appearance when you have reason to expect a continuance of rainy, or at least cloudy, weather.

In concluding these remarks on this important branch of planting I may add that where the nursery is at all exposed to dry east winds, the walks and divisions between each row of beds should be thickly planted with roses and fruit trees, as these not only add to the appearance of the nursery, but are extremely valuable as shelter. In short, the nursery on a well-conducted plantation ought to be a pleasure to see at any time of the year; and if the ground is on a slope, and neatly cut into terraces, with water running in the channels, and

fruit trees—as the peach, the locust, the pomegranate, apple, and pear—growing along the water-courses, the reader can easily understand that it is impossible to say too much in favour of paying all possible attention to what ought to be the pleasantest feature in the whole plantation.

The next point that claims our attention is the clearing of the forest; and here it is not too much to say that the experience and example of Ceylon planters have more than half ruined planting in many parts of India, and a great deal more than half ruined it in Mysore and Coorg. In Ceylon the climate is oceanic; in many districts rain falls more or less during eight months out of the twelve; and in some, I believe, there is seldom a month that is certain to be without a shower. But in India we have a climate exactly the reverse of all this. We have, it is true, a rainfall which is in the aggregate, I believe, equal to, or even exceeding, that of Ceylon; but then we have the rain in certain consecutive wet months, which are followed by many months of cloudless skies and parching winds. The south-west monsoon breaks along the western shores of India with terrific force towards the end of May, and from then up to the end of September we have almost continuous rain. In October the weather is showery; but towards the end of the month all signs of rain disappear, and it is quite a matter of chance whether a single drop of rain may fall within the next four months and a half, and in one season we had nearly six months without a single shower. But this is not all. The winds from November till early in March are mostly from the north-east; and a glance at the map of India will show the reader that the breeze must sweep over many hundreds of miles

before it reaches the Western Ghauts, and I need not waste words in explaining that a land-wind which has swept over so many miles of scorching plain must necessarily be of the most arid and withering nature. And yet, in spite of these obvious objections to planting without shade or shelter, planters of the greatest Ceylon experience have been employed by Indian proprietors, and in many instances they have themselves adopted an experience derived from a totally different climate, and an experience which they have obstinately refused to modify until taught, by the bitterest lessons, that a method of cultivation suited to one climate may be entirely unsuited to another. But it unfortunately happens that errors once committed in the formation of coffee plantations cannot be easily remedied. It is easy to cut down shade and shelter, but it requires years to build it up again; and it is melancholy to behold the uphill efforts of men to replace what, a few years before, they had irretrievably destroyed. Ceylon planters flocked into Coorg, and a sufficient number found their way into Mysore to cause an enormous loss to those who were foolish enough to adopt the experience that was earned in Ceylon, the greatest of coffee-planting countries. The fruits of that experience we know too well. Taught by what was an ample and sufficient experience in a moist and oceanic climate, those who had shade to preserve their coffee in the long dry months cut it down as fast as possible, and numerous plantations were formed where not a tree was left standing, and where shade was scouted as a thing of the past, and as a relic of barbarous times. The planters cut down the forest and planted their coffee; and then came dry seasons and sickly plants, and an insect called the borer, which aided in

killing the trees from one end of the plantation almost, and in many instances quite, to the other. When I last visited Coorg, in 1865, I recollect telling the superintendent of the district that I was then going to England, and that on my return to India I certainly expected that many of those plantations, which were then so promising, would probably be used for firewood, and that many an acre in my own district would share the same fate. But, though confidently predicting the inevitable result, I confess that, when I returned to India in the spring of 1867, the result had far exceeded my expectations. The season of 1865 was dry and hot, and the season of 1866 had been worse; and during the last two months of 1865 and the first four months of 1866 there was not, on our side of the country, I think, a single shower to revive the drooping plants. It was then seen, but in many instances seen too late, that a wall is no stronger than its weakest point; that the weak point in our climate is bound occasionally to appear sooner or later, and that, when it does, it is sure to be accompanied by that enormous increase of insect life which invariably accompanies long droughts and dry seasons in any quarter of the globe. And here it will naturally be asked why it was that shade and shelter had been so universally neglected. One of the reasons I have already given; and the fact that experienced Ceylon planters were looked up to in India as the safest guides was, of course, one of the principal reasons. But there was another, which had probably as much to do with the matter; for it had been practically found on the Neilgherry Hills (on Mr. Ochterlony's plantations, I think) that the coffee planted in the belts of forest trees left for shelter was a total failure. The plant grew

slowly, the branches were poor and lanky, and the yield was trifling, and there seemed to be some fatal objection to growing coffee in shade at all. And the same thing was found elsewhere; and many instances of the same sort may be pointed to in other districts. It was therefore held that coffee under shade would not do, because, in many instances, it would not do under the shade of the old forest trees. But no one seems to have asked whether it would not do under shade of another description; and the idea of cutting down the whole forest, allowing a secondary growth of forest trees to spring up, and supplementing that by planting trees which were most suitable for coffee shade, seems to have been an experiment that no one thought of trying in Southern India until it was adopted by myself and a few other planters in Mysore. But the droughts and the borer together have at last opened the eyes of even the most prejudiced planters, and it is now pretty generally admitted that a light shade is no loss in any season, and that in the driest ones it is absolutely necessary, to preserve the plantation from the attacks of insects. Further on in this chapter I shall have occasion to call the attention of the reader to some other advantages of shade; but enough has here been said to show that shaded plantations are the safest in climates like that of India; and I shall therefore at once proceed to give the results of my experience as to the difficult task of opening a shade plantation.

When I entered Mysore in 1855 there was no such thing thought of as planting coffee without shade; and the natives and the few Europeans that were there simply cleared the underwood, put down the plants thinned out a large tree here and there, and killed other

by ringing them. The general result was, that the plantation could not, at a little distance, be distinguished from virgin forest; and you might walk about all day, and seldom be for a moment in the sun. Under those circumstances, however, the growth of the plant was excessively slow, and the yield, for many years at least, by no means sufficient to satisfy the demands of European planters. But from one extreme the European planters soon went to the other; and a Ceylon planter of skill and experience having entered the district in 1855, the first open plantation was commenced the year following, in what would have been considered by Ceylon men the only possible way of growing coffee. The forest was felled and burnt, and not a single green thing but coffee was allowed to be seen. This gentleman from Ceylon had, however, selected the wettest part of the district, and for a good many years there seemed little reason for deciding finally against unshaded coffee; but when the land came to be exhausted by crops, and when the dry seasons came often, he was obliged to acknowledge the mistake he had made; and when I was last in India he could talk about little else than the best way of growing shade, and of the trees best adapted for that purpose. But the lead thus given was followed out in parts of the country where the rainfall was far smaller and the heat far greater, and where even the most desperate planter from Ceylon would hardly, I should think, have ventured to attempt growing coffee without shade. And here, of course, the result was not long doubtful. The plants grew at a great pace; and it was argued that if they could stand the heat when they were young, they would be all the more able to stand it at a more advanced age. But the fallacy of this mode

of reasoning was soon shown; and the trees, after yielding a few crops, and often not more than one or two, simply perished off the face of the earth; and hundreds of acres of coffee which, five or six years ago, promised fortunes to the owners, have now been entirely abandoned.

The lands in the districts of Munzerabad and Coorg (and I should think that this may probably be the case with most Indian coffee districts) may be divided into two classes; firstly, those in the wettest, and generally the most mountainous, parts of the country; and, secondly, those in the driest, and generally less hilly, parts of the district which lie nearest to the east, and are therefore further from the influence of the rains of the south-west monsoon. In the wettest parts of the district coffee cannot be grown with advantage under the shade of the forest trees, while, in the drier, it can be most advantageously grown under the shade of the largest trees. The method of planting should, therefore, be entirely different. In the most western parts of the district the whole forest should be felled, and secondary shade be allowed to spring up; while, in the eastern part, it has been found better to clear the underwood and a few of the smaller trees, and ring out a sufficient number of the others, leaving more or less according to the aspect, and to the general lay of the ground. And here, before detailing the best mode of proceeding when opening a shade plantation, I think it advisable to make some remarks as regards aspect, with reference both to sun and wind, as, before commencing to clear, the planter should take considerable pains to ascertain the values of the different aspects, with the view of regulating the amount of shade accordingly.

In considering, then, in the first place, aspect as regards sun and heat, I may observe that it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of carefully estimating the value of the various exposures. For the effects the sun's rays have on certain aspects, in heating the soil and drying up the plant, are such as would be extremely difficult to believe, had the facts not been verified by competent observers, and with the aid of the thermometer. And as regards northern and southern slopes in particular, we shall find that the difference between one exposure and the other is just what constitutes the difference between green and dried grass, and between leaves luxuriously green and leaves dry and withered. And that the first is literally true may be seen by any one in the months of January and February; for in those months you will see the grass on northern aspects green, and, comparatively speaking, fresh, while, even in a valley sheltered from drying winds, the grass on the southern slopes is completely withered. And you will see an equally striking difference in the coffee-plants; those on the northern slopes full of health and life, while those on the southern ones are yellow, drooping, and sickly. Even in parts of the district where coffee will not thrive without a considerable amount of shade, you will always find the plants thrive well with little, or even none, on a northern bank, and look better than on a moderately-shaded southern aspect. Nor in the nursery is the effect of aspect at all less striking; and a nursery on a northern slope will require far less water, and far less shade over the young plants, than in the case of a nursery sloping to the south. But Mr. MacIvor, the able superintendent of the Government Cinchona plantation, has tested the value of northern

and southern aspects in a way which can leave no doubt as to their respective merits. He accordingly tells us that "the reason why a northern exposure in these latitudes is beneficial is from the fact that it is much more moist during the dry season than a southern aspect, because the sun's declination is southerly during the dry and cloudless season of the year, and thus, on the northern slopes, the rays of the sun do not penetrate and parch the soil. A northern aspect has also the advantage of preserving a much more uniform temperature than a southern aspect, because the excessive radiation and evaporation on the southern slopes greatly reduce the temperature at night, while, in the day, they are heated to excess by the action of the sun's rays striking the surface at nearly right angles. The practical effects of aspect on the plants are so great that they cannot be overlooked with impunity; and, in order to impress this on the mind of all who may have the selection of localities for Cinchona cultivation, I may mention that the difference of temperature is almost incredible; for example, at this elevation,* a thermometer laid on the surface of the southern face of a hill exposed to the sun at three P.M. will frequently indicate from 130° to 160° Fahr.; the same thermometer, if left in its position, and examined at six A.M., will generally be observed to indicate from 30° to 40°; while, on a similar slope, if selected with a northern aspect, the thermometer, under the same circumstances, at three P.M., will generally indicate from 70° to 80°, and at six A.M. from 40° to 50°." The extreme difference, then, between a northern slope and a southern one, as regards heat, is exactly the difference between

* Probably about 7,000 feet.

80° and 160°; and as these results were obtained at the Neilgherry Hills, which are thousands of feet higher than most of our coffee plantations, I need not employ more space in urging the importance of attending carefully to aspects; and, in judging of the value of an estate, or a piece of forest out of which it is proposed to form one, it is plain that the price one would be disposed to give should be largely influenced by the lay of the land. I do not know whether Mr. MacIvor has extended his observation to eastern and western slopes. From my own observation I do not imagine there would be found to be much difference between them; but it would be very satisfactory to have their value carefully estimated, and I regret that I am unable to supply any decisive evidence on the point.

Turning now to a consideration of aspect as regards wind, we shall at once find that the subject is an infinitely more difficult one than aspect as regards the sun's rays, the value of which can be mathematically ascertained; for, in a country full of hills and ravines, one is constantly liable to be deceived as to the points that are exposed, and those which are sheltered from the force of the wind. Then it is extremely difficult, even in the case of a single district, to lay down any rule which shall guide a man in determining as to what wind is to be most dreaded in the particular spot he has selected. What is the right side of the hill for one planter is often the wrong side for another whose estate is, perhaps, only a few miles distant. While one calls out against the west, another is equally loud against the east wind. The winds, however, which are most to be dreaded, as being absolutely fatal to coffee, are those fierce monsoon gales which, accompanied by torrents of

rain, burst along the whole of the Western Ghauts. These winds are injurious in two ways. In the first place, the plant is blown about, its hold on the soil weakened, and the tender rootlets broken as fast as they are formed; and, in the next place, the rain which comes along with the wind is driven into the hillsides with such force as to occasion a serious amount of wash, the particles of soil are I may even say lifted, and the consequence is that hundreds of tons of the most valuable top soil are swept away and utterly lost. These south-west winds are, however, only fatally injurious on the first barrier of hills they strike. Further inland their force is greatly modified, and to such an extent that little injury results from them. For instance, along the whole of the westerly frontier range of the Mysore table-land coffee can hardly be grown at all in the teeth of the south-west monsoon, and eastern aspects are therefore the best; while, five miles further inland, an eastern aspect, from the climate being so much drier and hotter, is most to be avoided, and a western aspect may be considered rather favourable than otherwise. But, as regards south-west winds, another difficulty presents itself. You know, perhaps, that they are bad in certain localities, but you will find it by no means an easy matter to determine what aspects are blown and what sheltered. And in estimating the value of exposures, planters—and men of some experience too—are frequently deceived. Aspects that you think must be exposed are often untouched by the wind, while on others, apparently sheltered, it bursts with stupendous force. I have, for instance, on my own property, land with an almost northern aspect which is seriously affected by the south-west monsoon blast,

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which, being at that point pent in by the hills, sweeps in gusts direct from the north. Of aspect as regards wind there are, however, two points which may fairly be relied upon: the first is the appearance of the soil on the slopes, and the second the inclination of the forest trees. The soils on windy slopes will be found invariably to present a hardened and washed appearance, and are, comparatively speaking, deficient in decayed vegetable matter on the surface. Why, in a forest where the wind and rain are so greatly broken by the trees, the soil should have this appearance on one aspect more than on another, it is difficult to account for. But, as far as my observation goes, the fact is as I state it, and I am not the only planter who has come to the same conclusion. The inclination of the trees, too, and especially the extent to which their heads are bent, will often tell you which way, and how forcibly, the wind strikes. But in many instances it is difficult, from the closely-grown nature of the forest, to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion, and the only test that may be said to be generally reliable is the appearance of the soil on the slopes.

In summing up these remarks on this (for India, at least) most important point of aspect, I may observe that, as regards the sun's rays, it is plain that a northern aspect is the best, and a southern one the worst, because the latter is exactly twice as hot as the former. And, as regards the eastern and western aspects, we came to the conclusion that there was not, as regards heat arising from the sun's rays, much to choose between them.

As regards aspects as affected by wind, we came to the conclusion that, on the westerly aspects of the frontier barrier of mountains, on which the south-west

monsoon bursts, coffee can hardly be grown at all, and that easterly aspects were therefore the most valuable. And it was pointed out that, in the case of plantations further inland, in consequence of the south-west gales having expended their force so greatly on the first range of mountains, and partly in consequence of the climate being drier and hotter, a western aspect was to be preferred to an eastern one. In conclusion, I may observe that, the prevailing winds being south-west and north-east, no notice is therefore required to be taken of the other aspects as regards wind.

Keeping these conclusions as regards aspect plainly in mind, we will now, in the first place, advance to the method of opening an inland plantation, where coffee can be grown with advantage under the original forest shade; and, in the next place, we will turn our attention to the opening of what may be called a ghaut forest, where, from causes that have been previously pointed out, coffee cannot be grown to advantage under the shade of the forest trees.

In opening, then, a plantation of coffee which is to be shaded by preserving a portion of the original forest trees, the first thing to be done is, after having ascertained the amount of land that can conveniently be planted in one season, to clear a wide road through the underwood from one end of the block of forest to the other, and as many roads at right angles to the line as may facilitate your getting about and thoroughly inspecting the land to be cleared. The next thing to be done is to cut another wide line round the entire portion to be cleared, leaving, of course, a belt of from fifteen to twenty yards wide as a sort of margin, which is always to be kept uncleared. This marginal belt will

be found useful for shelter; and it must be borne in mind, too, that the margins of jungle are generally composed of land into which the forest has more recently extended itself, and which is, therefore, generally poor and less adapted to the growth of the plant. The preliminary lines having been cleared, the whole of the underwood should then be cut down from one end of the forest to the other, and while it is yet green, such portions of the longer sticks as it may be difficult, from their weight or length, to drag along the ground, should be cut into one or more pieces. Supposing, then, that the land is broken by deep ravines, as is commonly the case with coffee lands, the axemen should set to work and fell down bodily the bottoms of such ravines, which, from the forest trees on the upper parts of the slopes being left standing, will thus have ample shade. And the northern slopes of ravines running from south to north may be almost entirely cleared, leaving, of course, around the head of the ravine, such an amount of standing forest as may be sufficient to cast a long shade down the slope. The result, then, of these operations will be, that your ravines which have a watershed to the north will be entirely cut down, the bottoms of all other ravines will also be cut down, and the rest of the clearing will have all the forest trees standing, and the underwood cut away entirely. Supposing that all this is completed by the end of December, the underwood may then be piled in heaps at a distance from the foot of the forest trees (which, as I have found by a melancholy experience, are easily destroyed if their bark is at all injured), and burnt in detail. And a little further on, when the larger trees felled in the ravines have become thoroughly dried, the ravines that have

been cleared should be set fire to. But the greatest care must be taken to prevent a running fire going through the whole clearing, as anything of the kind will be entirely fatal to the trees you wish to preserve for shade.

The land having been thus thoroughly cleared, lines of road should be laid out, and the usual operations of lining and pit-digging (which may be learnt from any of the coffee-planting books) carried out, and the plants put down in the earliest breaks of the monsoon.

By this process a great deal more shade will have been left than will ultimately be required, but I have practically found that it is impossible to clear down at once all the trees you wish to get rid of, as, if you did so, you would have such a fire as would entirely consume the trees you wish to preserve; and it is therefore necessary to complete your clearing during the season following. Such trees, then, as you may wish further to remove must be marked, and, as may seem most convenient, some may be thrown down judiciously between the rows of coffee, and others, which may be likely to do much damage, may have their branches lopped off, and be barked by cutting a ring round them a few feet from the ground. The amount of shade to be left must, of course, be regulated according to the value of the exposure, as shown in the remarks on aspect.* Such, then, briefly is the result of a long experience in making shaded plantations, and I can confidently recommend this method to all those who are ever likely to be engaged in planting coffee in the hotter and drier parts of India.

Turning our attention now, in the second place, to

* The reader need hardly be reminded that a great deal of shade will be required on southern slopes, very little on northern ones, and that eastern and western slopes require a moderate degree of shade.

making a shade plantation where the coffee will not grow, or cannot be grown to advantage, under the shade of the lofty forest trees, we shall find a great deal less to say, for cutting down a block of forest from one end to the other is about one of the simplest operations imaginable, and has been so often described in other planting books that I need not waste time in going over ground that has been so often traversed before. We will suppose at once, then, that the jungle is felled, and burnt off in one of those tremendous conflagrations which incinerate and consume the soil, and which, in planters' language, result in a good clean burn. We will suppose the land lined, holed, and planted up in due order, and that you wish to replace some of the shade you have destroyed. And here you cannot do better than follow the example of nature, or rather let nature, for the most part, work her own way, and augment her resources by judiciously adding to the number of trees of a kind favourable to coffee, and which will naturally spring up. When a forest is cleared and burned, there springs up with the first rains, and in great abundance, a tree which is known by the name of the charcoal-tree. This is a tree which invariably springs up wherever a piece of jungle is felled and burnt, and is evidently intended by nature as a shade for the harder and more permanent woods, which require shade and shelter just as much as the coffee-plant itself does. This charcoal-tree is a poor, soft, white, watery wood, and is so light that a large club of it, when thoroughly dried, weighs rather less than a moderately-sized walking-stick. In two years from the time of its springing, this tree will form an ample shade for coffee, but as it gets older the foliage becomes poor and thin; and as the

tree itself affords thus, in the course of time, but a poor shade, and as it is extremely liable to die out and to be blown down, and as, further, as far as my experience goes, it is at any rate a short-lived tree, it is plain that it should be regarded merely as a temporary shade, to be got rid of whenever the permanent shade trees have grown sufficiently large to be able to do without shade themselves, and to afford shade to the coffee-plants. *And this charcoal-tree is particularly well suited for the* purpose of a temporary shade, as, from the branches being extremely light, it can easily be removed at any time without doing any injury to the coffee. I am, I may here observe, most particularly desirous of calling the attention of planters to my experience of this tree, as, from remarks I have at various times read in the Indian newspapers, and from what I have heard generally, I am afraid there is a disposition to rely upon it exclusively for shade, and I feel confident that to look upon it as a satisfactory permanent shade will only lead to disappointment and loss.

The next point to be attended to is, to plant out such kinds of woods as are particularly suited to coffee, and to remove any kinds of trees which experience has proved to be injurious. When I first entered Mysore it was very well known that the jack-tree was particularly suitable to coffee shade, but no one seems to have observed that many kinds of trees were positively poisonous to coffee, and that several other kinds were nearly as good as jack. But a long observation has now considerably extended our knowledge as regards trees suitable for coffee shade, and also of the best methods of propagating them.

* See Appendix E.

Of all these trees suitable to coffee I am inclined to place the jack at the head. From Ceylon planters I admit that I have heard very contradictory accounts of this tree; some asserting it to be indifferent, and even injurious, while I have been informed by others that some very fine estates in Ceylon have numerous jack-trees scattered about amongst the coffee. But whatever may be the case elsewhere, there can be little doubt that any planter in Mysore who could find a forest with sufficient jack-trees to form shade for the coffee, would be able to build up an estate that would last for an almost indefinite period. But the growth, however, of this tree is unfortunately extremely slow, and the only means of safely and satisfactorily propagating it is by seed, a plentiful supply of which should be secured, and in the monsoon planted in all the corners which are unlikely to be disturbed by the weeders, or in the angles of the stumps of trees which have buttresses to them, in the stumps of hollow trees, or amongst logs, or alongside of those huge stems of trees on which the fire has been able to make no impression; and when they have sprung up to the height of a few inches a peg should be put next them, in order to mark them, and especially to prevent careless coolies mistaking them for weeds.

The tree next in value, and which some think of equal value, is the cub-bussaree tree, which has a fine dark green leaf, and under which coffee thrives capitally. This tree has a great advantage over jack, because it can be propagated by cuttings. These should be made at about a month before the commencement of the monsoon, and to the length of about eight feet, with a thickness of about four or five inches in diameter. Holes should be dug for the reception of the cuttings, which

will seldom be found to fail if ordinary care be taken with them.

In my opinion the two trees last alluded to stand far in advance of all others, but there are two more kinds which can be propagated by cuttings, and these are the banian and the goni-tree, both of which are considered to make a good shade for coffee.

Of the trees which spring naturally, I have found the utee-maia to be about the best, being fast growing and yielding a very good shade.

There are many other trees which spring up spontaneously, or from the stools or roots from the felled trees, which are more or less good for coffee; but information as to them can readily be had from the natives of the country, and I do not, therefore, think it necessary to add anything to the leading and essential points I have alluded to.

Of the trees injurious to coffee I may particularly mention the taree, cheppul, and muttee.*

As the permanent shade trees spring up, the same care must be taken of them as is taken of trees in this country. Where, for instance, there are two stems, it will be advantageous to remove one of them, and the lower branches should, when the tree springs up to a height of seven or eight feet, be judiciously removed, as the object is to grow a tree not only luxuriant, but lofty, in order that it may throw a long shadow, and so afford greater protection to the plants in its vicinity.

In concluding these remarks upon shaded plantations, I may observe that the common idea prevailing as to the extent to which large trees absorb the resources of the

* I have had a list made of trees suitable and unsuitable for coffee, but do not quote them, as I have been unable to procure the botanical names for them.

soil, and so rob the plant that the settler is principally interested in, is entirely erroneous; for if the trees take somewhat from the soil, they also return a great deal to it, and I do not think that I can do better than quote at length some observations by Mr. George MacDonald, which conclusively show that a soil gains rather than loses by the growth of forest trees.

"An autumnal or old leaf," says Mr. MacDonald, "yields, upon analysis, a very much larger proportion of earthy matter than a vernal leaf, which, being yet young, has not received within its cells any considerable deposit. It will be found, also, that the leaves contain a very much higher percentage of mineral matter than the wood of the trunk. The dried leaves of the elm contain eleven per cent. of ashes (earthy matter), while the wood contains less than two per cent.; the leaves of the willow eighteen times as much as the wood; the leaves of the beech an excess over the wood a small fraction less; the leaves of the European oak nineteen times as much as the wood; and those of the pitch-pine twelve times as much as the wood. It is very plain from these facts that, in forests, the mineral ingredients of the soil perform a sort of circulation; entering the root, they are deposited in the leaf; then, with its fall to the earth, and by its decay, they are restored to the soil, again to travel their circuit. Forest soils, therefore, instead of being impoverished by the growth of trees, receive back annually the greatest proportion of those mineral elements necessary to the tree, and besides, much organised matter received from the atmosphere; such soils, therefore, are gaining instead of losing. Leaf manure," he continues, "has always been held in high estimation by gardeners. But many regard

it as a purely vegetable substance, whereas it is the best mineral matter that can be applied to the soil."

Now, though none of the trees that I would preserve are deciduous, still they do shed annually an enormous quantity of leaves, and under the evergreen jack may always be found a good thick layer of leaves in all stages of decay. And as regards this tree in particular, instead of it robbing the coffee, the coffee seems to rob it; for I have been informed by the natives that jack-trees fall off greatly in their fruit-yielding capabilities if coffee is planted under them. And it must be considered, further, that the large and powerful roots of tap-rooted trees like the jack bring up from great depths in the soil—depths far beyond the reach of the coffee roots—mineral matter which passes into the leaves, and thence on to the surface of the soil, where the coffee feeding-roots most abound. I may here add, what ought to have been mentioned previously, that the jack is liable to be preyed upon when old, and occasionally even when half-grown, by a parasite which is exactly like mistletoe, and which seems to exercise a most injurious influence on the tree. But if this is removed, which it may be by bodily cutting off the boughs amongst which it has grown, the tree will throw off its sickly appearance, and again shoot out in full luxuriance.

I find it impossible to quit this subject of shade without saying a few words as to the numerous advantages that plantations of coffee have that can be grown under the shelter of the original forest. In the first place, from the greater part of the land being only cleared at first of the underwood, and from the fact of that being burnt in separate heaps, a large proportion of the soil is entirely uninjured by fire, and the valuable surface

mould entirely preserved. In the next place, from the preservation of such a portion of this vegetable matter, and from the land being annually recruited by the fallen leaves, the rain-water, instead of running off, washing the land, and so depriving it of a great deal of its most valuable constituents, soaks gradually into and lodges in the soil, without the loss of a single drop. Thirdly, the forest trees afford shelter to innumerable birds, which are not only pleasant to see, and many of them to hear, but which are of incalculable service as insect-eaters. Then the planter with his shade, if he does not altogether laugh at dry seasons, in a great measure neutralises their influence by preventing the sun and wind from drying up the soil and parching the plant. And, finally, both the planter and his people can work away all day, and seldom feel the fierce rays of the tropical sun, and this consideration alone is of immense money value to an estate. And yet, in spite of all these considerations, we have seen shade and shelter ruthlessly cut down all over the country, and often in parts of it so hot and arid that it would be difficult to conceive circumstances that could be more fatal to the existence of coffee.

The next branch of planting that more particularly demands especial attention is that of putting down the coffee-plants at the best possible distance from one another. And here it has occurred to me, and I have no doubt to many others, that planters are very apt to fix on some arbitrary distance, without any particular reference to the qualities of the soil and to the general lay of the land. Some prefer planting the trees very closely together, while others advocate the allowance of more room; but you will seldom find that distances are altered, as they should be, in accordance with the poor-

ness or richness of the soil. Now, it seems sufficiently obvious that the richer and stronger your land is, the greater distance should your plants be apart, and that the poorer and more exposed portions of the estate (for the two commonly go together) should have the plants put down more thickly. And as roads are generally made across the slopes, and about midway up them, it may be laid down as a general rule that the plants above roads should be planted far closer than those in the richer soil below. Thus, if 6ft. by 6ft. is found to be a convenient distance in your best land, 4½ft. by 5½ft. will be found to be the best distance in the poorer and more exposed portion above roads. The great object, it must always be borne in mind, is to cover your soil, in order better to shade it, and to keep down weeds, and at the same time to leave enough room between the rows to allow of the coolies passing up and down the lines with ease, or with such ease that they can get about without forcing their way and breaking the branches. And bearing these objects in mind, a planter should regulate his distances carefully in accordance with his soil, aspect, and climate. It may, of course, sometimes happen that a very favourable conjunction of all three may grow a tree that requires more room than even 6ft. by 6ft., and in that case a few more inches should be allowed, and it may also happen that even 4½ft. by 5½ft. may be too far apart. But on these points a settler must in a great measure rely upon his own judgment, and these remarks are mainly intended to caution the planter against fixing on any arbitrary distance as being the best.

Having thus said something on nurseries, clearing, and planting, it is now time to turn our attention to pruning,

and in that term I include all operations, as topping, handling, and taking off suckers, or, as planters call them, gormandisers.

The coffee-tree, if allowed to grow to its natural height, will commonly be found to measure from twelve to fifteen feet, and trees of that size may often be seen around the houses of the farmers in my neighbourhood. But the European planter reduces his shrubs to, at the most, four feet and a half, and sometimes to as little as three feet, and in windy and exposed situations two feet and a half have often been adopted as the best height. And here, as in the distances most advisable to plant at, the planter should be partly guided by the soil, and partly by the aspect as regards wind. In thoroughly sheltered situations, and in the finest land, a tree may be allowed four feet and a half with advantage, but in all medium situations as regards soil and exposure I should be inclined to limit the tree to four feet, or even a few inches less, and in poor exposed situations three feet will be found to be an ample allowance. The height of the trees having been carefully determined on, the next thing to do is to consider the best time for topping them at; and here we shall find some difference of opinion prevailing as to whether the trees should be topped at the green wood, and whether, if topped at the brown wood, they should be topped before or after the blossoming season. Topping at the green wood is a process only employed, I conceive, by those who are short-sighted enough to prefer picking a heavy maiden crop to having recourse to measures which tend to give a small maiden crop, and are best for the general constitution of the plant. Dismissing, then, the subject of topping the tree when it has just attained the height you wish to keep it at, I will assume that

topping at the brown fully-developed bark is the only practice which is the safest and most sensible; and the only question then left to consider is as to whether this topping should be performed before or after the blossoming season. And here, again, the planter should boldly sacrifice his coffee in order to add to the permanent strength of the tree; and as topping before the blossoming season has a tendency to turn out a heavy crop on the primary branches, the tree should invariably be topped just after the blossom has bloomed. In cutting down the tree to the height you wish to have it at, you will, of course, cut off several pairs of branches, with their blossoms; but this sacrifice will be amply repaid by the strength that will thus be added to the young tree, and by the advantage of having a small crop on the primary branches below.

One of the principal faults in coffee grown under shade is its invariable tendency to throw out long, straight, primary branches, which are extremely slow in growing secondary shoots; and the evil of this is that the first crop is entirely borne on the primaries, which are thus so bent downwards as to give the branch a permanent curved set. The higher branches, having thus obtained a decided droop, shut in those below them, and, from the primary itself bearing heavily, these branches, instead of growing thick and strong from the first, are thrown back, and it is long before they recover from the weedy and shrunken appearance caused by a heavy crop. Now, the only way of obviating these evils is, when the tree is about two years old, to nip off the point of each primary; and this will be found to have the effect of making the branches throw out secondaries at once, and, by limiting the length of the primary branch, it will not be bent down by the weight

of fruit, which, as I have shown, causes the branches to have a permanent downward set. I observe that this plan is alluded to by writers on Ceylon coffee, but a Ceylon planter of experience has told me that the tendency of the tree there is to throw out secondaries far sooner than the trees in Munzerabad do, and in that case, of course, the method alluded to would be unnecessary.

After a tree has been topped it soon throws out shoots all over the stem and branches, and the early removal of the shoots on the stem, and the thinning of those on the branches, are things that require to be immediately attended to. When these shoots are young and tender they are easily removed without injury to the bark of the tree; but if they are left to harden, their removal becomes at once injurious to the tree and expensive to the planter. The shoots on the stem, which are commonly called gormandisers, require, of course, to be entirely removed. But the shoots on the branches require careful thinning, and this is a point on which too much personal experience cannot possibly be bestowed; for, if this work is fully attended to for a year after the tree has been topped, the work of pruning in future years will be easy and simple, whereas, if the trees are neglected at this stage, the difficulty of getting them into form is such as no one who has not had charge of a neglected estate can have any idea of. The first thing to be done is to clear out the centre of the tree by removing all shoots within about four inches of the stem, in order to admit light through the body of the tree; and the next thing is to remove all shoots growing backwards, downwards, or across the tree. When all these are removed it will generally be found that sufficient has been done, but on very luxuriant trees the shoots growing in the right direction will still be too

numerous, and will require further thinning, so as to reduce the number to two shoots at every joint of the branch. If this process of handling be fully and regularly attended to, there will be very little and very simple work for the knife to do, and the pruner may generally be directed merely to remove the very driest and oldest secondaries, and shorten back such primaries as may be long and whippy. I am aware that in Ceylon it is recommended that a secondary that has borne one crop should be removed, and where you have a fine coffee-growing climate like that of Ceylon, it is evidently advantageous to do so; but in our climate, with its long droughts, it has been found that nature will not grow wood fast enough to allow of that practice, and that we must merely content ourselves with removing wood that is superfluous, or that will bear no longer. A slight alteration may be made from this rule in the case of those luxuriant trees in the bottoms of deep ravines, which throw out wood with greater rapidity; but, with that exception, the planter will find that he cannot afford to do what his brother planters in Ceylon can do with advantage.

I have said that if the tree is not carefully kept in order at the outset, the difficulty of getting it into form will be very great, as old neglected trees present an impenetrable mass of twisted branches which are a perfect puzzle to the pruner; and, where the tree has been long neglected, the lower branches die off altogether, leaving merely a sort of matted umbrella at the top of the tree. In despair of ever getting such trees gradually into a tolerably good form, I have seen planters reducing them to a mass of straight primaries, or, in other words, I have seen them cut off every crooked, twisted, or back-growing branch, and end by leaving a tree which looks not unlike

an umbrella minus the cloth. By this process a year's crop is, of course, sacrificed, and an immense amount of handling is required to reduce the redundant green wood which springs out all over the tree. But these old neglected trees may easily, with a little patience, be got into good order far more cheaply, and without any sacrifice of crop. The first thing to be done is simply to cut out all secondaries and tertiaries that are past bearing, and to clear out the centre of the head of the tree. The removal of this superfluous wood will be followed by a sufficiently rapid growth of young wood, which should be carefully handled; and, after the next crop, a fair proportion of cross branches may be cut out, but only to such an extent as not to diminish the prospects of crop. By the next year a great deal of your young wood will have come into bearing condition, and then you may deal more vigorously with cross and crooked branches. Altogether I have found, in the management of old and neglected trees, that in about three years they may be got into fairly good order without the slightest sacrifice of coffee. Pruning should, if possible, be all got over before the blossoming season; but when you are confining yourself to the removal of plainly superfluous wood that is past bearing, or has perhaps only a berry or two on it, pruning may be continued, without injury or inconvenience, up to the commencement of the rains in May.

The ground we have hitherto traversed has been plain and easy, and the reasons either in favour or against particular methods of raising, planting, and managing the tree are such as can readily be brought to the test of experience; but the subject I have now to handle, involving as it does questions of agricultural chemistry, and being, besides, extremely difficult of exact proof,

is one that admits of no easy settlement. The subject, however, of coffee-manuring has engaged my attention for a good many years, and, with the aid of the most experienced agricultural chemist in this country, and guided also in some measure by another well-known chemist, I have at last arrived at some conclusions which will at least form a fair base for future investigations. But, before giving the reader the results of my observation, it may be of use and interest to say something as to the analysis of the tree and of the berry it produces.

In Dr. Shortt's "Handbook on Coffee-planting in Southern India" the reader will find an account of a minute and careful examination made by that gentleman into the constituents of the entire tree, and, without troubling the reader with the details, I may give the result of the analysis. It was as follows:—

	lbs.	oz.	drs.
Water lost by drying . . .	7	8	0
Organic matter	9	13	10½
Ash	0	6	5½

This result, I must mention, was obtained from a double-stemmed tree, indicating a twin origin, and no less than fifteen feet high, which was taken up, roots and all, and on which there was some coffee, which appears to have been analysed along with the tree. But I do not think we need consider that the small amount of coffee being present could have much altered the analysis, as the leaves, twigs, and fruits taken together, and when thoroughly dried, only weighed 1lb. We may therefore consider, I think, for all practical purposes, that the analysis of the ash is the analysis of the tree alone, without its berries. The 6oz. 5½drs. of ash then showed the following result:—

Potassa	15·76
Soda	18·98
Lime	26·07
Magnesia	4·26
Sesqui-oxide of iron	9·22
Phosphoric acid	13·28
Sulphuric acid	2·79
Chloride of sodium	8·35
Silica	1·29
	100·00

Now this result, it must be remembered, was obtained from a double-stemmed tree more than three times the height of an ordinary plantation tree; and, making every allowance for the fact that the tree was, as stated by Dr. Shortt, a lanky one, and consequently with poor, weak branches, I do not think we can go far wrong in estimating that the mineral taken from the soil, and held in suspension by the plant, cannot exceed 4oz. per tree; and assuming that an acre be planted at the ordinary distance of 6ft. by 6ft., the permanent demand made upon the soil for the mineral support of the plant will amount, in round numbers, to 302lbs. per acre. And when we come to consider that, from the prunings being invariably returned to the soil, this demand is made once for all, it is plain that we need not give ourselves much concern as to supplying the mineral loss caused to the soil by the growth of the tree. When, however, we turn to the organic matter of the tree, we shall find that a considerable call has been made on the soil, and if we assume that the organic matter amounts to 5lbs. per tree, we shall find that 6,050lbs. per acre are held in suspension by the plant; and though some portion of this is derived from the air, the call on the soil for organic matter must be considerable, and this is no

doubt the reason why it has been found impossible to grow the tree at all on any but forest soil. You may plant coffee on the deepest and finest soil, not twenty yards from where the plant can be grown on forest land with the greatest advantage, and yet not be able to produce a tree at all; and were it not for this well-established fact, it is plain that the coffee production of districts like Munzerabad might be almost indefinitely extended, instead of being confined, as it is at present, within extremely narrow limits. But, besides what is held in suspension, there is a great demand for growing power in the tree itself, in order to provide a rapid growth of new wood to replace that which is past bearing, and has to be cut away; and there is, consequently, a considerable demand for foliage-making manures. The prunings and handled-out shoots will, of course, return their organic matter to the soil; but a great and rapid power of growing wood is essential, and the tree must, therefore, be so well fed as to cause a rush of wood, a large proportion of which will have to be thrown away. If these remarks be correct, it seems evident that, as regards the growth of the tree, we need pay little attention to mineral, while we require to pay a great deal of attention to what are called nitrogenous manures.*

Turning now to the coffee of commerce, we shall find that no part of it can possibly return to the soil in any shape. Its entire constituents must be replaced, and liberally replaced, if the estates are to last, and the trees to maintain their original bearing capabilities. And here I must observe, at the outset, that there seems to have been a strong tendency, amongst those who have started

* Nitrogenous manures, too, being easily washed out of the soil, require to be all the more liberally supplied.

on a theoretical basis, to exaggerate the effects of mineral manures, and to maintain that those alone are the principles of support mainly to be relied on. These advocates of mineral manures have started on the basis that the constituents of the berry, as shown in the ash, are the things that it is requisite alone to replace; and, relying on that view, we find a manure like that of Tytler's Sombreorum put forward as the best, because it contains in large proportion a mineral which forms rather more than fifty per cent. of the ash of the coffee seed. Now, at first sight, it would certainly seem that, finding that half, or rather more than half, of the coffee-berry ash consists of potash, we could not go wrong in allowing potash a very high rank in our list of manures; and accordingly we find that Tytler's Sombreorum, which professes to be a mineral manure, consists of rather more than forty per cent. of potash. But when we come to inquire into the experiments regarding potash, which, I may observe, forms about half the ash of most seeds, we shall find that no reliable results have, in this country, ever been obtained from the use of potash as a manure. And I may here mention that Professor Anderson, of Glasgow University, informs me that "the results of all the experiments made with potash have in general shown that much dependence cannot be placed on it. With turnips," he continues, "this is certainly true, and with other crops it appears only in particular circumstances that it produces any effect whatever." I do not, of course, pretend to say that when the soil has, during a long course of crops, been much drawn upon as regards this alkali, to apply a small proportion of potash as a manure would not, in all probability, be followed by favourable results; but to adopt for perma-

nent use at the outset, and to pay a high price for a manure containing upwards of forty per cent. of a substance of doubtful and unascertained value, seems to me rather a hazardous experiment. I would, therefore, recommend that people desirous of ascertaining the value of potash should buy it separately in the shape of the muriate of potash, and carefully ascertain its effects before committing themselves to an expensive outlay as regards a manure like Sombreorum, which has, no doubt, produced valuable effects, but which cannot, as far as I can see, be shown to have produced any remarkable effect from the forty per cent. of potash it contains.

In continuing my remarks upon coffee-manuring, I think it convenient to notice in order such manures as are readily available, and which are most cheaply and easily applied.

The manure that has been most freely applied, and which, I believe, has been most relied upon in Ceylon, is cattle dung; and, with the view of keeping up a regular supply of it, many estates keep considerable stocks of cattle, which are in most instances, I believe, stall fed with grass and oil-cake. But here we shall find in India a fatal obstacle in the climate; for while in Ceylon grass can readily be grown almost all the year round, in Mysore it will be found impossible to provide any quantity of grass for even any part of the year, and you would have to graze your cattle all day in order to support them at all. But not only would you lose an enormous quantity of manure by so doing, but, in consequence of the poor condition that cattle thus grazed must necessarily be in, what could be obtained by their dung would be poor and worthless stuff. And, further,

I find that even in England the excrements of grass-fed cattle (that is, cattle fed in meadows alone) are of no great value; and Mr. MacDonald, in his valuable work, points out that in 1,000lbs. of the dung of such cattle there are only 4lbs. of nitrogen, 3lbs. of phosphoric acid, and 4lbs. of lime. But, besides the fatal objections I have alluded to, there are others which serve to show that it is only under very favourable circumstances that cattle manure could be used with advantage. The first is the bulky nature of the manure, and the consequent cost and labour of application; and the second, and one by no means to be lightly thought of, is the great risk of losing your stock by disease. In fact, this latter consideration alone would always be sufficient to deter me (and I think it ought to deter any one in India) from depending on a manurial source which would be liable to be suddenly cut off, and which could not be replaced without the expenditure of a great deal of time, expense, and trouble. Some planters in our district—and I observe that the practice is common in Ceylon—collect the manure at the halting-places where pack and cart bullocks put up for the night. But if the manurial value of grass-fed cattle in England be small, it is evident that that of lean, hard-worked, grass and straw fed cattle must be infinitely smaller, and that the fact of the cart cattle getting a small quantity of boiled grain (a sort of pea) daily would not materially add to the value of their dung. But this practice of collecting manure has been entirely abandoned by us, and I do not think that any one would be likely to take to it again. Although, however, cattle manure should not be depended on as a reliable manurial source of any great

value, it by no means follows that it should be entirely neglected. The cart cattle on the estate should be well fed with grain and oil-cake, and as they are only worked for a small portion of the year, their dung may be looked upon as of considerable value. To these a few more cattle may be added, and these may be gradually allowed to increase by breeding; and if you keep the number down to a quantity that you can find ample grazing for near home, their manure will form a welcome addition to that of your more valuable and well-fed stock. And if to the manure thus obtained you add that of the stable, which there is generally a fair supply of, and add to the heap the ashes, sheep-dung, and sweepings from about the house, you will then have a very good sample of farm-yard manure; and it is from such a manure as this, combined with bones, that most valuable results have been obtained on my estate.

The next manure which calls for a few remarks is bone manure, and the value of this for all crops and in all countries, combined with its extreme portability and cheapness of application, renders it by far the most important of fertilisers for coffee. I have never used bones dissolved, as they commonly are, with sulphuric acid, but have simply broken them into pieces of about a quarter of an inch in length, and accelerated their further disintegration by mixing them up with coffee pulp. The latter, being a moist substance, not only prevents the bone-dust being blown away, but, when heaped up with a mixture of pulp, the heat that is thereby generated seems to exercise a considerable effect on such portions of the bones as have not been fully smashed. Another very good plan is to make a heap of alternate layers of farm-yard manure and bones; and

it is in that way that I have formed compost of bones and farm-yard manure for application to the land.

I have said that the best result on my property has been obtained by farm-yard manure * and bones; and if a sufficient quantity of the first substance could be readily and cheaply obtained, there is no doubt that these two manures would make us for ever independent of any other aid. But, from what has been previously said, it is evident that we must have recourse to some other nitrogenous manure; for bones, though valuable as berry producers, fail, when used alone, to give that dark green leaf, and that growth of strong young wood, which it is absolutely necessary to produce. In the course of my investigations it was suggested to me that the nitrate of potash would probably supply all the nitrogen requisite, and would, besides, supply the soil with a considerable proportion of potash. I accordingly purchased some tons of this substance in India; and though I have not had an opportunity of conducting the experiment in person, I can confidently rely upon the observation of my manager, whose experience, it is satisfactory to find, accords with the theoretical principle, and coincides with the general experience of farmers in this country, who find that phosphates and nitrogen surpass all other manures in value. He accordingly informs me that, as far as he can see, farm-yard manure and bones are best, and next to those he would place the nitrate of potash † and bones. It may

* This, it must be borne in mind, was a mixture of horse, cattle, and sheep manure, wood ashes, and general sweepings.

† Subsequent communications confirm the value of the nitrate of potash, and the trees manured with that salt show a dark leaf, and have thrown out not only more numerous, but far stronger shoots than trees that have had bones alone, or bones and the muriate of potash. My manager reports that he can observe no results at all from the muriate of potash, nor has he been able to observe any

be urged, however, that the effect might, in no small degree, have been owing to the potash, and not to the nitrogen contained in the salt applied; but, in Professor Anderson's opinion, the effect was probably due to the nitrogen rather than to the potash. But this is a question which yet remains to be practically decided; and, with the view of coming to a conclusion in the matter, I have sent to India some tons of the muriate and chloride of potash, which will show conclusively the value of that mineral by itself. Considering, however, that farm-yard manure and bones have been proved to give the best result, it seems to me that it will probably be found that Professor Anderson is right in his conjecture as to the effects from the nitrate of potash having been produced by the nitrogen, and not by the potash. But however this may be, it would seem that in bones and the nitrate of potash taken together we can supply all the requirements of the plant; and if, as is the case in shade plantations, a large supply of leaf manure be supplied annually, it seems to me that nothing further is required. The plants and berries demand phosphate of lime, nitrogen, and potash, and these substances are therefore all supplied when we manure with bones and the nitrate of potash. Other substances, it is true—as magnesia—are removed from the soil, but in such very small quantities that it seems to me they are not worth taking into account.

Supposing that I am correct in my assumption as to

results from the use of Tytler's Sombreorum. Another planter in our district has equally failed to observe any results from the use of the last-named manure. But these experiments must, for the present, be merely considered as tentative. I may add that the muriate of potash, which was bought in this country at £8 per ton, came to about £22 per ton when delivered on the estate, while Tytler's Sombreorum came to no less than £28 per ton.

bones and the nitrate of potash supplying all we require, there yet remains the question as to whether our phosphate of lime, our nitrogen and potash, cannot be more cheaply supplied than through the manures I have indicated; and that question I now propose briefly to consider.

Bones are valuable on account of the large proportion of phosphate of lime they contain, and which varies considerably in particular animals. It is found in a greater proportion in the bones of aged animals, which abound more in the mineral, and less in the proportion of animal, matter than do the bones of younger animals. But the average per-centage may be said to vary from fifty to sixty per cent. In order to save carriage, and in consideration of the small value of the animal matter of the bones, it has been a common practice to calcine them; and no doubt, where bones have to be brought from a great distance, it would pay better to do so. I have never considered it worth while to do so myself, as the bones I procured were not brought from such a distance as to make it worth my while. But when bones are brought, as they often are, from Australia to Ceylon, or from long distances—as, say, three or four hundred miles by land—it seems evident that the animal matter lost by burning could be far more profitably supplied from some other source. But, sooner or later, the supply of bones must become exhausted, or insufficient to meet the increasing demand; and it then becomes a matter of importance to look to the mineral phosphate of lime as a substitute, as that is nearly, if not quite, equal to the animal phosphate. This mineral phosphate exists in the shape of coprolites and also of apatite; the first being the fossilised dung and bones of animals.

and the second being a rock which largely abounds in phosphate of lime. I am informed that in the Punjaub there exist considerable beds of fossil bones, but in Southern India I have not been able to ascertain that the mineral phosphate of lime exists in any shape whatever. As, however, I have never heard of any one looking for it, that is not very surprising. Some years ago I wrote to the Commissioner of Mysore on the subject, and, from the inquiries he instituted, the mineral does not appear to exist in the province. But I apprehend that this mineral phosphate does probably exist somewhere, and as its discovery is evidently a matter of very great importance, I repeat the simple test for detecting its presence; and were this test placed in the hands of all engineers and district officers, we should soon ascertain whether this valuable manure does or does not exist.

Test to ascertain the presence of the mineral phosphate of lime:—To a small portion of the substance to be examined add a little muriatic acid. Heat slightly, then add ammonia. Milk-white precipitate will show the presence of phosphate of lime.

As the importance of discovering this mineral is of much consequence to coffee-planters in India, I would suggest that the various Planters' Associations should exert themselves in the matter, and I think it might perhaps be of use if they offered a medal, or premium of some sort, for the discovery of an available bed of the mineral phosphate.

The principal objection to the use of the nitrate of potash is its great cost, and that put down by me came to £24 6*s.* 10*d.* on the estate; and it seems to me that that is too high a price to pay for an artificial manure

for it to come into exclusive use. But it is here that we find the pressing want of information as regards the resources of particular parts of India. This is promised to be remedied by a Gazetteer which is to be brought out by Government, but at the present moment I have no means of ascertaining anything regarding the means of procuring this substance, or whether cheaper means might not be discovered of supplying it; and I think that the Planters' Associations ought at once to collect information on the subject, with the view of ascertaining the chances of being able to procure this manure at a cheaper rate than it is possible to do at present.*

At the commencement of these remarks on coffee-manuring I said that I thought I had arrived at some conclusions which might form a basis for future investigations, and if the remarks I have hazarded are of any value, it seems that what planters should do is—

1. To ascertain by careful experiment the value of potash as a manure for coffee.

2. In the next place, they should try and discover an available bed of the mineral phosphate of lime in India.

3. They should endeavour to find out whether the nitrate of potash cannot be supplied at a cheaper rate than it can be procured at present.

4. The proper season for applying various manures should be ascertained. (My own idea is that mineral manures might be put down at any time of year, but that ammoniacal manures should be applied at the close of the rains, as they are so easily washed out of the soil.)

5. The fifth question to be determined is—How far does it pay to carry the volatile portions of bones? or, in

* I observe in the Indian Museum samples of nitrate of potash from Errode, Nellore, and Moganore, in the Madras Presidency.

other words, does it pay best to transport unburnt bones from, say, a distance of fifty miles, or does it pay best to calcine them, and transport the phosphate of lime only?

But of all these points the first is the most important to ascertain, and I would strongly urge the Planters' Associations in Southern India to institute some careful experiments with the muriate of potash, and should it be proved that potash is of itself a valuable manure, no doubt can then remain as to the expediency of using the nitrate of potash as a standing manure for coffee.

I have now noticed all those points in coffee-planting which, from the general nature of the climate, call for particular notice when writing on coffee-planting in India.* As regards all the other points connected with planting—as roads and drains; picking, curing, and despatching of coffee; bungalows and labourers' houses; stores, pulping-houses, and barbecues; tools and machinery; weeding, &c.—I cannot do better than refer the reader to an excellent work, entitled "The Coffee Planter of Ceylon," by Mr. William Labonadière. There is, however, one point I have omitted to notice, and that is that, from the dryness of the Indian climate during the picking season, a very small store only is needed. In fact, so seldom do we have any rain in the picking season, that it is common for the coffee to leave the estate without ever having been in a store at all, as the moment a sufficient quantity is dried it is despatched for shipment.

And now for a few remarks as to the cost and prospect of planting. How much can an individual start on safely? As far as my experience goes, I should say not less than £5,000. As for what can be got for

* See Appendix F.

that sum, the question cannot, from the shifting nature of prices, and the varieties of climate, soils, and situations, be accurately answered, or with even an approximation to accuracy, so I shall not attempt to answer it at all. The planter must just cut his coat according to his cloth as he goes along, or, to use a Canarese proverb, "stretch his legs according to his blanket." He may get a very large return, or a moderate one, or a small one; and he may even gain, as many an unfortunate man has done, a considerable loss. I would particularly warn any man who thinks of taking to coffee against relying on those estimates which are so often published, and which, though perhaps accurate enough as far as they go, assume that everything goes well, that you have a good soil, climate, and labour market, good health, and good seasons; and which, after a brilliant account of the returns that may be expected for the first few bearing years, usually terminate with the assertion that (I quote verbatim from a work on coffee) "the profits subsequently will be something fabulous." The fact is that the difficulties in the way of forming accurate agricultural statistics are, in any country, almost insuperable, as there is either a tendency to exaggerate or depreciate the yield, as it may suit the interests of the cultivators. And then, as regards coffee in particular, there is no means whatever of estimating the produce. I might tell the reader the results of estates under my own management. Besides this, I could tell him a good deal that I have heard, but very little that I know, in the way a man generally requires to know anything which he wishes to publish as reasonably near the mark. And here I may observe that the assertions one often hears are monstrous in the general, though they may be perfectly true in particular and exceptional

instances. "In my district," you will hear it said, "I've known an estate give a ton an acre." And just in the same way you may hear of a man in England talking of a prize ox or the weight of a monster egg; but that proves very little as regards the general size of eggs and oxen. Nor need the monster eggs and oxen enter into a man's calculations. As long as he observes that fowls and fat oxen pay, he may pretty safely breed them, and trust to fortune and judgment for the rest. So, in going into coffee in any district, it signifies not a straw whether you know what certain acres have yielded, or what amount of profits may be expected. But there is one guide to the value of a district which may firmly be relied on. If estates frequently change hands it is certainly a bad or indifferent one; if seldom, you may be pretty sure that coffee pays very well; and, further than that, a man need give himself no concern, for hardly any landed investment pays so well in India as good sound coffee property, and people are therefore seldom inclined to part with it.

Having ascertained that people are not inclined to drop their estates in a hurry, the settler may commence to look a little further; and the first thing of importance that will attract his attention is the state of the labour market. Now, that district is, of course, the safest which has a command of labourers attached to the soil—men who are, for the most part, engaged for some months of the year on their fields, and who are glad to work on the plantations for the remainder of it. But coffee lands surrounded by fields and villages are now rarely to be had, and, as a rule, imported labour must be depended on. And here a man must not inquire so much into its dearness as its safety; for, if labour can always be pro-

cured in sufficient quantity, it can hardly be so dear as to prevent coffee paying. It pays very well in Ceylon at tenpence a day, and there is no reason why it should not pay at the same rate elsewhere. And, with regard to this question of labour, an eye should be kept to the distant future. The health of the imported labour must be carefully inquired into, and it must also be considered whether, nearer to the sources of the labour market, or even further from these sources, some healthier district may not spring up, to which, at equal rates, labour would rather resort. In making choice of a district, then, other things being equal, a man should prefer that with the safest labour market.

Transport facilities, though certainly deserving of some attention, need not give the settler in India much anxiety, as, by the time that a man has grown something to carry, he will find roads overtaking him in very remote situations. So many considerations, political as well as commercial, exist in favour of opening out the country, that almost any place, however inaccessible at present, has a fair chance of being soon within reach of a road. When I first entered Munzerabad, places we then thought to be remote and inaccessible are now held to be rather in the way than otherwise; and, taking everything into account, I would not advise any man to be deterred from taking up land by transport considerations, supposing that things are as they should be in other respects.

In concluding these remarks upon planting, I may remind the young settler that the first and last thing to be learnt is to keep down expenses. An estate should be started on the assumption that it is not going to pay well, or that you may have to abandon it altogether. A

common thing to do in starting an estate is to build a house at an expense of £350 or even £400. Now, the value of that outlay, if we calculate interest and compound interest, will amount to no small sum before the estate comes into bearing, and, if it is a failure, you just leave so much less cash behind you. If you spend only £20 on a comfortable, mud-walled, thatched house, with a couple of rooms, a store-room, and a bath-room, and if you have a good basement of about four feet, so as to have several steps to ascend before getting into the house, you will find yourself as healthy, and quite as comfortable, as if you had set up with an orthodox bungalow. This is a thing that may be built in the course of time, but it should be built out of profits, and never out of capital. In the same way, when you build your store, you will find a great deal of difference between £350 and as many rupees (£35); and, in climates like those of India, the latter sum ought to be sufficient for a considerable estate, or, if you go as high as £50, it ought to be the outside. It should be built of burnt brick, and with mud instead of mortar; there should be a rough jungle-wood roof, and tiles on the top of that. In selecting a place for a house, do not choose the top of a hill. There is a common idea prevailing in India that those spots are healthiest on which burst the four winds of heaven, and this idea is most commonly to be found amongst medical men. But there never was a greater mistake. The house should be on elevated ground, of course, with a good fall on every side of it to carry off the rain-water, but it should be sheltered from the east wind either by a clump of trees at a little distance, or by selecting a piece of ground which is sheltered from the sweeping, drying, unhealthy, land-

wind. In selecting, too, a site for a house, the importance of having it as close as possible to the pulping-house and drying-ground, and, if possible, to the nursery as well, can hardly be exaggerated. But notwithstanding the obvious advantages of the master's eye, it frequently happens that very little attention is paid to this point, and it is not at all uncommon to see a planter's house, and his nursery and drying-ground, as far apart as possible. I have no doubt, however, that this more often arises from the delusion that you must have a high, exposed situation for your house; but if the planter will only sacrifice that prejudice, he need find no difficulty, as a rule, in concentrating those points of the estate which require the most constant supervision.

A few simple directions may now be given for the conservation of health. The drinking water, in the first place, should be boiled, and then filtered through sand and charcoal. A filter may easily be made with three bottom-perforated chatties (earthen vessels)—the first containing charcoal, the second sand, and the third to receive the filtered water; and about the season of the first rains, at the end of the hot weather, when vegetable matter is largely washed into the springs and streams, care should be particularly taken that the water be regularly boiled and filtered. At this season, too, I have observed that Europeans, as well as natives, are very liable to fever. I would therefore advise every one, during the first or second year, or even annually, to take a few grains of quinine daily till the heavy rains set in, and the country becomes healthy.* Great pains should also be taken to secure regular supplies of well-

* Mosquito curtains of fluffy gauze should always be used, and not those with clean circular holes which have lately come into use.

cooked and varied food; and a cook who can bake good bread and biscuit can hardly be too highly paid, for the settler must look upon his vital powers as so much soil that requires to be well fed and cared for if it is to yield large returns to the owner. An idea seems to prevail with some that it is a fine thing to rough it, and to be careless as to what you have to eat. Now, this may be all very well in Australia and New Zealand, and in healthy climates which are suited to the European constitution; but it must be remembered that all jungly districts are more or less unhealthy, and that if the system once gets below par, you have, by allowing it to be lowered, effectually paved the way to the inroads of fever or of dysentery.

I must now conclude this chapter with some observations on the enemies of the coffee-plant. These are the "borer," the "bug," the "rat," and the "rot," all of them names of much and disagreeable significance.

Towards the end of 1866, and throughout the three years following, large numbers of coffee-trees in Southern India, and in many instances whole plantations, perished clean off the face of the earth. On cutting open the dead trees, large numbers of an insect called by the planters the coffee-borer * were found, and as these insects were almost invariably found in the dead trees, it was concluded that the borer, and the borer alone, was the cause and origin of decay and death. Thereupon there was a tremendous fuss made about this interesting insect. Not even after a man-eating tiger was there ever such a hunt. Pages were written on the insect.

* The earliest notice of the borer that I find is in a Report on the Nuggur Division of Mysore in about 1835, by Mr. Stokes, who notices that coffee-trees in dry seasons often wither and snap off suddenly at the root.

The Government was loudly called upon to exert itself, if it did not want all revenue from coffee suddenly to cease. Nor was the Government long in responding to the call, and accordingly Dr. Bidie was commissioned to go after the borer. As for the unfortunate insect, it was burnt and killed in all possible ways, and, towards the close of 1867, even sent to London to have its history inquired into. It arrived there by the overland route, safely embedded in two coffee-trees, one of which was "cautiously sawed through" by Mr. John Keast Lord. By this gentleman it was declared to be "a beetle of the second family of the *Coleoptera Cerambycidæ*, and to be closely allied to a somewhat common species known as the wasp-beetle (*Clytus avietis*), which usually undergoes its changes in old dry palings." Aided by the head of the Entomological Department of the British Museum, a specimen of the insect was at last found in the collection made by M. Chevrolat somewhere in Southern India. Appended to this specimen was the name of *Xylotrechus quadrupeo.* On a further examination of the tree, Mr. Lord very soon came to the conclusion that the insect did not necessarily cause the death of the tree at all, as it lived on the dead matter of the inner or heart-wood of the stem, and only interfered with the circulation and sap-vessels of the tree when it worked up to the surface of the bark. And he finally was of opinion that "the female beetle, guided by her instincts, selected trees, on, or in, or underneath the bark of which she deposits her eggs, such trees being at the time, from some cause or other not explicable, sickly, and predisposed to early death." Now these causes, which were not, of course, explicable to Mr. Lord, were extremely plain and susceptible of

ready explanation by any planter of experience and observation. Nor am I aware that anything of importance has ever been added to a rather lengthy communication which I published in the *Madras Times* of June 11th, 1867. It was there pointed out that the borer was merely an effect, and not a cause, and that as long as coffee-planters kept plenty of dry, sickly, sapless trees, the result was sure to show itself in an enormous increase of insect life. This was exactly what occurred with our larch plantations in this country. They perished, in many instances, off the face of the earth, and their stems were found to be piped from end to end with borers. But a further examination showed that the roots went first, from various causes, and then the trees got sickly, and then they became full of insects. It was not the insects that caused the sickness, but it was the sickness which caused the insects; and though the insects may have accelerated the death of the trees, it was certain that they were not the cause of the disease. But I need not waste more time in showing that it is a universal law in the vegetable world, and is as true of a tree as a turnip, that, wherever the vital powers decay from any cause, the plant is sure to have its end hastened by insects of some sort or other. Now, what happened in India was simply this. Planters cut down all their shade, and left their coffee-shrubs to take their chance, and hold their own against months of drying winds and scorching suns, and when a few extraordinarily dry seasons occurred, the supply of dry wood being abundant, the breeding-grounds for the borer were almost inexhaustible; and what with the hot suns and the dry winds, and the injury caused by these insects, the trees died by the thousand. Nor did even the coffee

in ample shade escape from the effects of these dry seasons; and in plantations planted, shaded, and carefully cultivated, numerous deaths occurred. But here, of course, the evils of dry seasons were reduced to a minimum; and as the borer does not get on at all well in green and sappy trees, there was, consequently, comparatively little of that insect in the shade plantations. Nor where it does exist in shade plantations is it at all immediately fatal. In fact, as far as my observation goes, a bored tree, if well shaded and well manured, will last for an indefinite period. About thirteen years ago I had charge of a plantation, which I still continue to manage, and one-half of which was an old plantation when I took charge of it. When the estate was purchased I thought it would be a good thing to cut down all the bored trees in the old coffee, but I very soon found that I might as well have cut down the whole plantation from one end to the other. On one occasion I recollect seeing the usual gimlet-hole in a fine tree on the estate in question. The tree looked perfectly fresh and healthy, but, being full of zeal against borers, I cut it down, and, on splitting it up, found that the borer had entered the tree, drilled a hole for a few inches right down the centre, and then made its escape. The fact, I suppose, was, that the borer had made a mistake, that he found the constitution of the tree too strong for him, and that no other borers had thought it worth while to take up their abode in ground that was evidently unsuited to them. Notwithstanding the existence of this insect all over the estate alluded to, it has been one of the most paying in our district, and even after all the losses caused by the dry seasons we have lately suffered from, it has never once gained a loss for its owner.

But, besides the fact of the borer seldom making a fatal attack on a tree which, from being under shade, is kept green and fresh, there are several other causes which, no doubt, tend to diminish the numbers of this insect, and the evil effect it produces. In the first place, shaded plantations are full of insectivorous birds, and when the grub passes into the fly state, and bores its way out of the tree, it runs no small risk of being snapped up before it has time to lay its eggs within the bark of a coffee-tree. Then, again, the timber trees left for shade have many decayed branches, which a borer, as he must live somewhere, would no doubt prefer to coffee kept as fresh and strong as possible. Now, in open plantations there is not a bird to be seen, nor is there any green tree but coffee; and under these circumstances, aided by dry seasons, the plants are inevitably attacked, and, from the coffee being probably fully stocked with large numbers of the grub, its workings, from often approaching the surface of the bark,* and consequently interfering with the circulation of the sap, no doubt aid in hastening the death of the tree to a very considerable extent. Another circumstance which also tells against unshaded coffee is the fact that the first crops are invariably much heavier than those produced by plants under shade, and the natural result is that coffee-trees in the open are proportionally weakened at an early period of their existence; and, as anything that tends to exhaust the tree makes it more open to the attacks of insects, I need not employ more space to show that everything tells against coffee in the open.

I have gone at some length into this subject of the

* The greater the stock of insects, the greater must, of course, be the number of approaches to and through the bark, as each insect has to bore its way out of the tree to make its escape when in the fly state..

borer, because coffee has fallen into undeserved discredit in Southern India in consequence of the notion prevailing that the insect is some special coffee plague, which causes the very existence of a plantation to be a matter of the greatest doubt. But I trust it has now been shown that the ravages of this insect need not be at all dreaded by any man who can, by shade and judicious cropping and cultivation, keep his trees full of life and vigour. If he can comply with the last-named conditions, the planter need not at all dread the losses which dry seasons will undoubtedly entail on all cultivated plants. Let him keep his plants full of life and vigour, and, if he cannot do that, the sooner he returns to England the better.

As we are entirely concerned with planting in India, "the bug," which in many districts is so much dreaded, need not detain us very long. Some of the plantations in Coorg were attacked with it some years ago, but not, I believe, to a serious extent, and in Mysore it is hardly known. The coffee-plants in the open were, without exception, the only ones attacked by it, and when I visited Coorg in 1865 I could hear of no instance of the appearance of this insect where the coffee was under shade. In Ceylon I observe that it is recommended that the plant attacked should be thatched with Marna grass, and I conclude that that would operate in the same way as the shade of a tree. But, however that may be, it is certain that there is in shade something hostile to the bug, and it would be interesting to learn whether my observation in this respect can be confirmed by the conclusions of those who have had their attention called to the subject. A very full account of the bug is given in Sir Emerson Tennent's book on Ceylon, and it is only necessary for the information of the general reader to say

that this insect entirely covers the green wood and leaves of the tree with a black sooty substance, and that the general result is a total loss of the crop. The constitution of the tree, however, is not, I believe, permanently impaired; and if causes hostile to the insect come into operation, the plantation will subsequently prove as successful as if it had never been attacked.

"The rat" is simply an animal of that species which, in many instances in Ceylon, has been a great nuisance. I have had some trees injured by its bark nibblings, but only to a trifling extent, and in India I have never heard of any serious damage arising from it.

Lastly, there is "the rot," and this is simply a kind of decay which seems to come over the leaves and berries during long-continued wet weather, and it appears to arise from an excess of moisture and want of sunshine. On my own property it has operated only to a very trifling extent, but in a plantation which was once opened in the northern division of Mysore it caused a total failure of the property. The trees grew and blossomed, the berries formed, but in the wet weather they simply rotted, or fell to the ground, and the estate was consequently abandoned. The plantation in question was formed under the shade of the original forest trees, and I cannot help thinking that if the whole forest had been cut down, and a light secondary shade allowed to spring up, such a thing as the rot would either not have appeared at all, or appeared to a very trifling extent. I think this point worthy of some attention, as no doubt many new coffee districts may yet be discovered in India, and every phase of the cultivation is therefore of importance.

In concluding this chapter on coffee-planting, I may

observe that, in my opinion, planters have very much neglected the cultivation of many plants that might be grown along with coffee. I must plead guilty, to a certain extent, of having followed the example of my neighbours, but that is no reason why I should not point to what I conceive to be the common error. I mean, then, that planters should put down cinchona-plants amongst the coffee, and in any corner that will hold a few trees; that they should cultivate the swampy ravines with cardamoms; and that they should plant up the margins of their lands with sandal-wood trees. "Be aye sticking in a tree; it will grow while you are sleeping," should never be forgotten. You think you will soon make your fortune and retire. But years and years slip by, and you do not or cannot retire, and then you think, "If I had only stuck in this tree or that tree it would have, in the long-run, added much to the value of my estate." Thus I think of cardamoms, cinchonas, and sandal-wood trees now, and I would, therefore, impress upon the young settler the necessity of doing what I and so many others have persistently neglected.

Since the preceding part of this chapter was finished, my attention has been called to the subject of coffee-leaf tea by a notice in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, as to roasted coffee-leaves having been sold in London as ordinary tea. In the notice alluded to it is asserted that Dr. Gardner, twenty years ago, called the attention of many merchants and chemists to the matter; but "the coffee-planters," it is added, "fearing that the price of the berry would be lowered by the employment of the leaves, contrived to divert from it all general attention." But how this very desirable result was attained the writer does not state. I have said that the result would be desirable

not because there is any fear of coffee-drinkers taking to an infusion of coffee-leaves, which is, compared with the berry beverage, a poor, flavourless, unpalatable liquid, but because roasted coffee-leaves are probably the cheapest possible things to adulterate tea with, and anything which reduces the price of tea must have, in this country at least, an unfavourable effect on the consumption of coffee. But planters have little to fear from this adulteration in the long-run. What they have to dread is the adulteration of coffee with chicory, which, as has been shown in a previous part of this chapter, is not only injurious, but is a substance of not half the nutritive value of coffee. If coffee adulterators could only find some adulterative substance of equal nutritive value with coffee, we could still hold our own in this country. We have got, indeed, to such a stage of dishonesty, that any one who merely used a substitute of equal nutritive value to coffee would be considered a man of honesty far above the common; and, in the utter failure of our attempts to check adulteration, it might not be out of place at least to pass over all adulterations effected with matter which shall not detract from the nutritive value of the article sold. And it seems to me that, with reference to the standard of morality at present prevailing amongst food-sellers, the condemnation pronounced by the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the dishonesty of substituting roasted coffee-leaves for tea is not a little overstrained.

I may here add that the reader will find a very full account of the value of torrefied coffee-leaves in Dr. Shortt's "Handbook to Coffee-planting in Southern India." That gentleman succeeded in obtaining three samples of roasted coffee-leaves from a planter on the Shevarry, who had taken, it appears, great pains in the

manufacture, and had produced three qualities, which were named successively "Orange Pekoe, Congou, and Souchong." These specimens were submitted to the Agri-Horticultural Society of Madras, through Dr. Hunter; but, much apparently to the disappointment of Dr. Shortt, "the beverage was curtly pronounced to be unpalatable." This coffee-leaf tea, it appears, is largely used by the natives of Sumatra. Dr. Shortt suggests that coffee-planters should take to making it; and if a planter could enter into partnership with a London grocer, and transmit the torrefied leaves direct, to be sold as Assam tea, the thing might no doubt pay in occasional seasons where a planter had little coffee and a great deal of spare leaf. But as it does not seem that more than 3*d.* or 4*d.* per lb.* could be got for the leaf if sold as roasted coffee-leaves, I do not think that the matter is deserving of any attention on the part of planters.

* Since the above was written I observe (*Agricultural Gazette of India*, p. 23) that a London broker has reported on some Ceylon coffee-leaf tea. He values the samples as worth from 1*s.* 2*d.* to 1*s.* 3*d.* per lb., and speaks of them as having "a strong leathery flavour." This sounds pretty well for a beginning, and we are further cheered by the remark that, "if the old-boots flavour could be eliminated, a better price could no doubt be obtained."

CHAPTER XI.

CINCHONA-PLANTING.

To the general reader this chapter may not, perhaps, be very interesting; but to those who, like myself, have lived in the malarious jungles of India, or in any country where fevers are common, the subject will probably be found to be far more interesting than any I could possibly select. For what can be more interesting and more important than the propagation of a medicinal plant which is incomparably the most valuable hitherto discovered by man? And what more noble object can possibly be imagined than that of laying at the door of millions a remedy for those distressing fevers which so often prove quickly fatal, and which still more often curse the frame of man with a lifelong depression? Were you to ask the present generation of Englishmen to say which of all the chapters of Indian history was most interesting, and most decisively showed the advantages of our rule, some would point to our roads, others to our railways, others, again, to our host of legislative enactments; but few would point to the introduction of a humble plant as one of those measures which, as far as man's daily life and comfort are concerned, has more of promise than anything we have ever done for India. But I venture confidently to predict that, when people

write the history of our rule fifty years hence, the efforts that have been made to bring the cultivation of the cinchona to perfection, and the foresight shown in providing the Indians with this valuable medicine, will be appreciated as by far the most valuable fruits of our Indian rule. While, however, we may look forward with confidence to the ultimate success of the cinchona, and to its being planted in every garden throughout the numerous climates suited to its growth, it must not be supposed that in merely introducing the plant we have done all, and that we may now sit down and contemplate the work of our hands with unmingled satisfaction. On the contrary, the most difficult part of the undertaking still remains to be carried out, if we wish for real success. It was a great and arduous task to take the plants from their native home in South America to our hills in India, and the successful method of cultivation now established was the result of long and patient labour; but it was always foreseen that the main object was to lay the plant down to every man's door, and in the voluminous correspondence that has been published by the orders of Parliament this point is repeatedly alluded to. And what has been done towards this crowning-point, without which our labour and our object will have failed so largely? I am afraid we can only answer, Nothing—literally nothing. A few plants have been ordered to be gratuitously supplied to native cultivators, but I can only find that a few hundred were given out, and that the greater part of them died. And here I may pause for one moment to remark, that in the whole history of our rule there is no more striking instance at once of our humane and disinterested intentions, and of our inconsistency and utter feebleness of

purpose. We have exercised arbitrary power with the most incredible rashness. We have forced on the people, without for one moment consulting their tastes and wishes, laws and regulations and a system of government which they detest. We have done all that at the point of the bayonet, and yet we hesitate at exercising arbitrary power in matters about which there can be no manner of dispute. If there is a single point connected with ruling natives on which arbitrary power could be exercised with the least possible loss of popularity, it is the forcible introduction of this valuable medicinal plant; and I venture to assert that, were the Government to collect all the head men of a fever-stricken district, and put it to them whether or no a law should be passed ordering that every native, under pain of punishment, should rear a certain number of cinchona-plants in his garden, a universal assent would readily be given. It is a mistake to suppose that the people have any objection to the exercise of arbitrary power as long as the objects of it are clearly explained to them, and as long as they understand that the exercise of power is to be of general advantage. But I need not weary the reader with further remarks on this subject. Enough has been said to show that, having forced so many unpalatable things down the throat of the Indians, we need have little scruple in carrying out our system of arbitrary law-making a little further, and stretch it sufficiently to insure the propagation of a plant which is of such great importance, not only to the peoples of India, but to the whole world.

It is my intention now to give the reader some account of cinchona-planting in India, and of the conclusions arrived at regarding the various febrifuge

principles existing in the bark; but before doing so, and considering that the subject must, comparatively speaking, be little familiar to the English reader, it may not be uninteresting if we first of all glance at the general history of the tree, and our earliest knowledge of its valuable qualities. And here it may be as well to mention that I am indebted to Mr. Markham's well-known work for the general history of the plant, and that in the account of cinchona-planting in India I have been entirely guided by the Blue Book on cinchona cultivation, published last August by order of Parliament.

Medicines, like religions, seem seldom to have been accepted in the countries of their birth. The religion which has the greatest number of adherents was born in one country, and accepted in another; and this is equally true of the religion which, secondly, has the greatest number of followers. And, curiously enough, the greatest drug in the world seems to have shared the same fate. All this, of course, may be merely an accidental coincidence, but it seems to me that it is just possible that the saying, "No man is a prophet in his own country," may be extended to plants. But, however all that may be, it is certain that though the Indians of South America were aware of the properties of bark, or rather of the "bark of bark" (*quina-quina*), it was not accepted by them; and the absence of this remedy in the wallets of the itinerant doctors who have plied their trade, from father to son, since the days of the Incas, seems to show that this medicine could never have been generally used. Surprising though this fact undoubtedly is, it is still more surprising to learn that the inhabitants of aguish districts should have a strong

repugnance to using this medicine at all. In the Peruvian province of Huanuco, where the people are much subject to tertian fever, their dislike to bark is particularly strong; and we are informed by Mr. Markham that "even in Guayaquil the prejudice against quinine is so strong, that, when a physician administers it, he is obliged to call it by another name." The existence of this singular prejudice seems to be clearly traced to the Indian theory of the cause of fever, which they always held to arise from inflammation of the blood; and just as our older physicians, acting from false reasoning, bled profusely for fevers, so the Indians thought they would at least refrain from adding fuel to the flame. They soon discovered that bark was very heating, and that was quite sufficient to deter them from using it in the treatment of a disease which seemed to them to require cooling drinks more than anything else. It would be interesting to learn whether this prejudice has since been overcome, and on this point I regret that I have no information to give. I may mention here that the natives in our part of India seem always to have known that the first, second, and third thing in fever is to keep up the bodily strength in order to aid the system in throwing off the disease—a fact that our physicians seem to have been ignorant of when bleeding was the rule for fever in India.

The whole genus of quinine-yielding trees was named by Linnæus *Cinchona*, and it may not be uninteresting to add that the name was given in honour of the Countess of Chinchon. The lady herself was of noble birth, and her husband, who took his title from the town of Chinchon, in the kingdom of Toledo, was appointed Viceroy of Peru in 1629. In 1638 the countess was

suffering from fever, and the Corregidor of Loxa, Don Juan Lopez de Canizares, sent a parcel of powdered quinquina bark to her physician, assuring him that it was a never-failing remedy for tertian fever. A complete cure was effected, and when the lady and her husband returned to Spain in 1640, she took with her a quantity of bark, and was thus the first to introduce this valuable medicine into Europe. Hence it was sometimes called Countess's bark and Countess's powder. The great family of *Cinchonaceæ*, it may be added, includes, together with cinchonæ, ipecacuanhas and coffees, and many other useful plants.

After this celebrated cure of the Countess of Chinchon, the further introduction of the bark was aided by the Jesuit missionaries, who penetrated far into the forests, and formed settlements on the upper waters of the Amazon. In 1670 these Jesuit missionaries sent parcels of the powdered bark to Rome, and from thence it was distributed to members of the fraternity throughout Europe by the Cardinal de Lugo, and used for the cure of ague with great success. Hence the origin of the names "Jesuit's bark" and "Cardinal's bark,"—names which, in those dark days, seem to have retarded its use amongst Protestants. It is difficult, in our days, to believe that this could really have been the case, and that Protestants should have rejected a valuable medicine on account of the name attached to it; but it seems difficult to escape from the conclusion that this consideration must have had some weight, and that it no doubt aided in strengthening the very strong prejudice against this medicine in European countries. In spite of all opposition, however, the new medicine steadily made way, and the second Lord Shaftesbury, who died in 1699, mentioned in one

of his letters that all the ingenious and able doctors treated fever with the Peruvian bark, though it was still the bugbear of the inferior physicians. But the controversy as regards the value of this medicine went on for some time longer, and as late as 1714 we find two Italian doctors writing vehemently for and against the use of bark.

The first attempt to transplant the cinchona from its native home was in 1743, when La Condamine visited Loxa, and stayed for some time at Malacotas with a Spaniard, whose chief source of income was the collection of bark. La Condamine obtained some young plants, with the intention of taking them to Paris, but he only succeeded in getting them as far as the mouth of the Amazon, when a wave washed over his little vessel, and carried off the box in which he had preserved the plants for more than eight months, and which he had already transported more than twelve hundred leagues on its journey. La Condamine returned to Europe, but Joseph de Jussieu, the botanist, who had accompanied him to America, remained behind, and continued for many years his botanical researches. But the fate of his laborious efforts seems still more melancholy than that of his associate, and we read that, after fifteen years' work, the botanist was robbed of his large collection of plants by a servant at Buenos Ayres, who believed that the boxes contained money. The loss drove the unfortunate botanist mad, and, entirely deprived of reason, he returned to France in 1771, after an absence of thirty-four years.

It is a melancholy business, pursuing the history of those failures which for so many years seemed to be the only reward of the men who toiled in those inter-

minable forests; but their very failures add not a little to the satisfaction of having ultimately reached complete success, and the reader must bear with me a little longer while I briefly describe the results of the next expedition to the cinchona forests of South America.

In 1776 the Spanish Government organised a botanical expedition to explore the cinchona forests of Peru. The members of this expedition were the botanists, Don José Pavon, Don Hipolito Ruiz, the Frenchman Dombey, and two artists, named Branete and Galvez. They embarked at Cadiz on the 4th of November, 1777, and reached Callao in the month of April. They made a considerable collection of dried specimens in the forests of Lima, and despatched them to Spain. They then crossed the Andes, explored the forests of Tarma, and proceeded to Huanuco. They succeeded in discovering no less than seven species of the cinchona-tree, and returned to Lima with the precious fruits of their expedition. They then made another botanical exploration in Chili, and, after returning to Lima, sent off their collection in fifty-three boxes, which were all lost off the coast of Portugal in 1786. Ruiz and Pavon then returned to Huanuco, but both fire and water seemed to war against the unfortunate botanists, and we read that subsequently a fire broke out in their house, which destroyed all their journals and collections. The botanists eventually returned to Spain, though I cannot find that they either brought plants or seeds with them; but, if they took the latter, we have no account of any attempt at rearing plants from them.

After these unsatisfactory expeditions, it is pleasant to read of something more cheering; and, in a scientific expedition sent out by Louis Philippe to America in

1845, we find at last the commencement of success. The botanist of the expedition was the talented Dr. Weddell, and he succeeded in bringing to Paris seeds of the *C. Calisaya* species, which were raised in the Jardin des Plantes in 1848. Others were raised in the garden of the Horticultural Society in London, where one of the plants flowered. Many of these plants were given away, and some of them were sent by the Dutch Government to Java.

We now come to the first attempt made to naturalise the cinchona, and it is much to the credit of the Dutch that they were the first people to appreciate practically the advantages of forming plantations of this invaluable tree. In Java are many forest-covered mountains, and it was on these that the Dutch determined to establish the cinchona. In 1852, accordingly, M. Justus Charles Hasskarl, a botanist, who had for some time superintended the gardens in Java, was despatched to America, with instructions to collect seeds and plants of as many species of cinchonæ as possible. We need not, of course, follow Hasskarl in his wanderings about the forests of South America, and it is sufficient to state that he eventually reached Java, with a number of plants of the *C. Calisaya* species, all of which, however, with the exception of two, have since died. With these plants he unfortunately brought with him the seeds of a species which he called *C. ovata*, and which has since been termed *C. Pahudiana*—a kind of cinchona that is almost entirely worthless. About the same time a plant of *C. Calisaya* arrived from Paris, and, with the aid of seeds from other sources, the experimental cultivation was fairly set going at the close of 1854. The Dutch, however, seem to have been unfortunate through-

out. In the first place, they started their plantation on forest land which appeared to consist of the finest soil; but it seems that, at the depth of six inches, there was a layer of sand and small stones, through which the roots could not penetrate. In consequence of this the plants languished, and the general result was that, after eighteen months, there were only three hundred cinchona-plants in Java, and these were in an unpromising, sickly condition. In 1856 a new system was introduced, and a new establishment started, with officials whose salaries in the aggregate amounted to no less than £3,256 a year. This time it is probable that success would have been certain, had it not been for that unlucky species, *C. Pahudiana*,* which was introduced by Hasskarl. The Dutch, finding that this was a hardy plant, and easily propagated, spent large sums in growing this worthless species, and neglected the more delicate and valuable *C. Calisaya*. The general result of all this was, that after three years the Dutch gardeners had only forty plants of valuable species in Java, and after six years they had only increased their stock to seven thousand plants; while in 1861 the numbers of the worthless species alluded to amounted to millions. In India, as will be shown hereafter, we obtained far more satisfactory results, in eighteen months after the introduction of the plants, than the Dutch did after six years of expensive and laborious efforts.

It is time now to turn the attention of the reader to the introduction of cinchona-plants into India, and to

* Mr. McIvor thinks that "*C. Pahudiana*, although yielding in its wild state bark worthless in commerce, promises under cultivation to become of some value, though unlikely to enter into competition with any of the" (alluding to the valuable bark) "foregoing species."

the results of the experience so carefully and laboriously acquired by the able men to whom the introduction, growth, and general study of the plant have been intrusted.

Though the Government in India talked of the obvious advantages of introducing the cinchona into India as early as 1852, no serious step was taken till the year 1859, when the services of Mr. C. Markham were accepted by the then Secretary of State for India, who authorised that gentleman to undertake the entire task of the collection of plants and seeds in America, as well as their introduction into India. The arrangements were fortunately left entirely to Mr. Markham, and he was therefore at liberty to carry out the scheme without any further reference to Government. And truly there never was an occasion that more urgently required the energetic action of an active mind. The people of South America were well aware of the value of the monopoly they enjoyed; sooner or later their narrow-minded jealousy was sure to be awakened; and it was, therefore, necessary to act with despatch, and march simultaneously on all the forests which contained the most valuable species of cinchona. How this was done, and done effectually, the reader will find described at length in the interesting work entitled "Travels in Peru and India;" and, in the short space I have allotted for a description of the introduction into India of this important plant, I can but indicate the leading points of this great undertaking. Mr. Markham's arrangements were soon completed. He secured the services of Mr. Spruce—an excellent botanist and an intrepid explorer—for the cinchona forests of Ecuador, which is the country of the "red bark," containing in especial the

C. succirubra, which at that time was the species thought to contain the largest per-centage of febrifuge alkaloids. For the forests of the Peruvian province of Huanuco the services of Mr. Pritchett—a gentleman who had passed some years in South America—were secured, and he was in especial to collect plants and seeds of the species yielding grey bark; while Mr. Markham undertook to explore in person the forests either of Caravaya or Bolivia, and to collect the *C. Calisaya*, and other important species of that more distant region. Two practical gardeners also were engaged to attend to the packing of the plants in the forest, their establishment in Wardian cases, and to look after the plants on their voyage to India. On the 17th of December, 1859, the expedition left England, and towards the close of the month following arrived at Lima, the capital of Peru. After a month's stay Mr. Markham and his party sailed for Islay, a port considerably to the south of Lima, and the most conveniently situated as a starting-point for a journey to the cinchona forests of Southern Peru and Bolivia.

We will now, as briefly as possible, follow Mr. Markham in his journey into the cinchona forests of the province of Caravaya. The space will not admit of even a passing allusion to the many interesting points of the journey from Islay to Caravaya, and we must merely content ourselves with stating, in fact, that Mr. Markham reached Crucero, the capital of the province, and left that town for Sandia (the nearest point to the forests) on the 18th of April. At Acco-kunka (neck of sand), a place that merely consisted of one hut, Mr. Markham fell in with a red-faced man, of about fifty years of age, who called himself Don Manuel

Martel, and who was then engaged in clearing forest for sugar-cane planting. He had, it appeared, lost much money in the bark trade; and, alluding to the fact of plants having been taken out of the country by M. Hasskarl, the Dutch agent from Java, he took the opportunity of adding that, if ever people attempted to do such a thing again, he would stir up the natives to cut their feet off. This seemed to be merely a piece of bluster; but two days after his arrival at Sandia, Mr. Markham found that the man with the red face had already commenced operations by writing to several of the inhabitants of the place, and urging them to prevent the removal of either seeds or plants from the country. There was now clearly no time to lose; and Mr. Markham, getting together a month's supplies, soon started for the forests, with Mr. Weir, the gardener, and a few Indians, one of whom fled the first day. Subsequently, and before plunging into the forest of Tambopata, Mr. Markham was fortunate enough to secure the services of an experienced bark-gatherer, who had acted as guide to Dr. Weddell on the occasion of his visit to the Valley of Tambopata in 1846. The party, now consisting of seven, including Mr. Markham and the gardener, plunged into the forest on the 1st of May, and camped out night after night for a fortnight, during which time they were actively engaged in collecting plants of various species of cinchonæ. Struggling through the matted jungle, torn with thorns, stung by hornets, and tormented by insects of various kinds, the party spent many days of the severest labour in their arduous search. One of the most dangerous and toilsome days is thus described by Mr. Markham:—"The whole way," he writes, "was along giddy precipices, seeming to hang half-way be-

tween the sky and the roaring torrent, with no foot-hold but decaying leaves, nothing to grasp but rotten branches; every motion a drenching bath from wet leaves; every other step a painful and dangerous slip or fall; besides hornets and endless thorns." Amongst such difficulties as these were the parents of the plants now flourishing on our Indian hills brought from their native homes; and the only addition to this combination of annoyances that I can conceive would have been the presence of our Indian jungle leeches, which penetrate right through ordinary stockings, and often leave a nasty, irritating sore behind them. But every difficulty was gallantly overcome; and, without entering into further details, I must content myself with saying that Mr. Markham returned to Sandia on the 15th of May, with no less than five hundred and twenty-nine plants. Here, however, the most serious risks had to be encountered. Orders had been issued by the Alcalde Municipal of Quiaca for the apprehension of the party and the destruction of the plants; and there was nothing for it but an immediate flight, and the adoption of a compass course over the Cordilleras from Sandia to Vilque, in order to avoid entering town or village on the way. In their journey all manner of hardships, as well as both cold and hunger, had to be encountered; but every difficulty was eventually overcome, and the plants were safely deposited at the port of Islay on the 1st of June. Even here some further risks had to be incurred. It was with difficulty that an order was obtained to allow of the exportation of the plants; and, during the night before embarkation, an attempt was made to bribe the man in charge to bore holes in the cases, and kill the plants by pouring in boiling water. On the 24th of June, how-

ever, the plants were safely lodged on board the steamer, and started on the long road to India.

Space will not admit of my even alluding, however briefly, to the doings of Mr. Markham's colleagues; and it is sufficient to say that the whole party were more or less successful in procuring seed and plants. A large number of plants, of course, perished during the long route *viâ* Southampton and the Red Sea to India (the route by which the great bulk of the collections were despatched); but, in spite of every loss, a sufficient number of plants arrived safely in India to establish successfully this important cultivation. But, as Mr. Markham justly observes, the wonder is that any plants should have survived at all, through so many changes of climate and temperature. There was the long journey from the Andes to the coast, the risk of crossing the Isthmus of Panama, of changing steamers at the island of St. Thomas, at Southampton, at Suez, and at Bombay, and of the journey through Egypt. But all these difficulties were fortunately overcome, and, by the spring of 1861, a large supply of plants and young seedlings was established on the Neilgherry Hills, in Southern India.

I have now a rather troublesome task before me, and one that I have the greatest doubts as to my ability to perform in a sufficiently satisfactory manner. The task is that of boiling down a tremendous Blue Book which lies before me, of no less than 285 pages, and containing "Copy of all Correspondence relating to the Cultivation of Cinchona Plants, from April, 1866, to April, 1870." I feel myself burdened with the very wealth of *matériel*; and assuredly no one ever had less occasion to make up a book with what is vulgarly but expressively called

'printers' fat" (wide lines and much margin). My principal fear, however, is, that I may, from inadvertence, be the means of conveying incorrect information; and I should recommend any one who is practically interested in cinchonas to consult the Blue Book for himself. With this preliminary caution, I shall now endeavour to marshal before the reader, in the best order I can, the leading facts contained in the Blue Book in question.

The correspondence opens, curiously enough, with a letter to the Government of Madras from the Secretary of State for India, requesting that a supply of seed may be sent to England for transmission to the Emperor of Mexico; and I think this fact worth mentioning, just to show the widespread interest that is being taken in the propagation of cinchonæ.

The next letter is also from the same to the same, and lays down very clearly the principal object to be held steadily in view. The Secretary of State for India observed, in the letter in question, that it was gratifying to observe the readiness with which European and native planters undertook (in many cases in connection with coffee plantations) the cultivation of cinchonæ; but he was very justly of opinion that "the greatest benefit would be secured, should it be found practicable to promote the cultivation of the tree by villagers and small holders of land in suitable situations, even if they should not be able to do more than plant a few trees around their houses." This was very clearly seen to be the key of the position; and though I alluded to the subject at the commencement of the chapter, I think it one of sufficient importance to run the risk of wearying the reader by again calling his attention to the fatal flaw in

the introduction of cinchonas. When I last alluded to the subject, I suggested that the villagers should be forced to raise the plants. To the English reader this may seem an extraordinary proposition; and he will naturally ask what difficulty there can be in getting the Indians to put them down, if they know the advantages of doing so. But they do not know; and, as has been frequently pointed out in this book, there is no means in India of diffusing information on any subject (unless it be for the payment of a new tax) amongst the rural classes. In the absence, then, of the means of diffusing information, the Government must either abandon the idea of introducing the cinchona in a manner which would be of the greatest benefit to the people, or they must do what was done in Scotland in old times as regards ash-trees, viz., compel each man to put down seven plants in his garden. But it is time now to resume our researches in the Blue Book.

The plants and seedlings established on the Neilgherry Hills in the spring of 1861 were placed under the charge of the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens, Mr. McIvor, a gentleman of unusual energy and ability; and it seems to have been universally acknowledged that, as regards the establishment and propagation of the plant in India, his name stands quite alone. He was the first, I believe, to adopt the system of propagation by buds, which seems to have been unknown to the Dutch, who depended entirely on cuttings and seeds. When I visited the hills in 1865, I made the acquaintance of Mr. McIvor, and had every opportunity of observing this system of propagation, which requires great care and nicety, as the young rootlets of the cinchona are extremely liable to rot if at all over-supplied with water.

The buds were, first of all, rooted in brickdust, with the smallest proportion of vegetable mould, and, after they had rooted, were transplanted into stronger soil. When each plant had made three pairs of leaves, one or two pairs were removed to grow fresh plants from; and in this way the propagation was carried on with extraordinary rapidity. This process requires now only to be carried out with a few of the rarer species, as an ample supply of seed is available from trees growing on the hills.

The establishment of the cultivation having been thoroughly effected, the Government, towards the close of 1866, sent out Mr. Broughton, an experienced analytical chemist. It was this gentleman's task to investigate every point connected with the plate: to analyse the bark of different species, to ascertain the climates and elevations most advantageous for producing the greatest amount of alkaloids, and especially to ascertain the preparation of febrifuge which would combine cheapness with efficacy in the greatest degree. Mr. Broughton was to act in concert with Mr. McIvor (who had been for some time officially called Superintendent of Cinchona Cultivation), and to take up his residence on the hills. To Mr. Broughton's observations we shall have frequent occasion to allude in the course of this chapter.

By far the most interesting and important discovery, as regards the bark of the cinchona, was made by Mr. McIvor. In planting out the cinchona-plants permanently, it had been found advisable to give them a support, to prevent their being injuriously affected by the wind. For this purpose, each plant or young tree was tied to a stake firmly driven into the ground. To

prevent the bark being injured by chafing, clumps or patches of moss were placed between the tie and the tree. In the spring of 1863, Mr. McIvor observed (he does not tell us how his attention came to be drawn to the fact) that the deposit of alkaloids was invariably most abundant in the bark covered by the lumps of moss.* In the bark above the clumps of moss the alkaloids were deficient, and immediately below the moss they were also deficient. This interesting fact led to close and continued observation; and, without going into details, which the reader can find in Mr. McIvor's Reports, it was established that there was a never-ceasing quinine-producing power in the leaves; that, through the agency of the sap, the alkaloids were deposited in the bark; and that from the surface of the bark there was continual oxidation or waste of its valuable constituents.† To protect, therefore, the alkaloids from this waste, it is necessary to exclude the action of light and air from the bark if you want to secure the whole advantage of the producing process. This important discovery at once upset all the notions previously entertained as to the advisability of getting in a bark harvest from loppings and prunings, which, by cutting off leaves, would necessarily injure the quinine-producing powers of the tree.

Experiments as regards what is now called "mossing" were carefully carried out; and it has since been established that, by taking off alternate longitudinal slips, one-half of the bark may be removed without the

* Mr. Howard observes that "this was practised to some extent in the old times of collection of the Loja bark, as described by Ruiz in a manuscript in the British Museum, under the name of *Cascarillas resacadas*."

† Mr. Broughton, as will be seen further on, asserts that mossing cannot prevent oxidation.

slightest injury to the tree. The parts bared of bark must then be covered with moss, and, in the course of eighteen months or two years after the new bark has fully grown, the parts of the bark previously left may be removed, and a similar treatment be repeated. The increase of alkaloids under moss is certainly very surprising, and at page 50 of the Blue Book is said, by Mr. McIvor, to be no less than thirty times that obtainable from unprotected bark.

In the early part of 1866 Mr. C. Markham inspected the Wynaad district, the largest coffee-planting district in India, with the view of ascertaining its capabilities for cinchona-growing, and found that there were numerous sites where the plant could be grown with advantage. Some of the planters had fine healthy trees, and many had then ordered considerable numbers from the hills. "But," writes Mr. Markham, "although the extension of this cultivation on the estates of European planters is much to be desired, it is far more important that the natives of the district should be induced to open small cinchona gardens in every direction, and in great numbers. The people suffer fearfully from fever. The scourge has appeared exceptionally early this season, and I have myself witnessed its ravages, while I am assured that later in the year the scenes, even on the public roads, are loathsome and heart-rending." Mr. Markham, in his general remarks on Wynaad, gives a number of interesting particulars as to the district, and dwells at considerable length on the very bad state, or rather the want of roads, which so largely impedes the progress of European enterprise. I feel strongly tempted to make use here of some of his information; but, however interesting it might be, it would only tend to

distract the reader from the subject of the present chapter.

In continuing these remarks on cinchona-planting, I find it difficult to pursue as regular a treatment of the subject as I should like, and I shall therefore content myself with picking out the leading facts connected with cinchonas, without any attempt at exact sequence, but taking what can be found very much in the order presented in the Blue Book.

In Mr. Broughton's Preliminary Report on the cinchonas (page 116 of the Blue Book), he points out that a very marked difference exists in the habit of individual trees of the red-bark species, both as regards their colouring and appearance. This variation had been noticed by Mr. Markham, who suggested that the variations in the colouring and habit of the trees might probably be connected with differences in their yield of alkaloids. This led to a careful examination, and the correctness of the suggestion was verified by the fact that the bark of four trees of the red-bark species varied in total yield of alkaloids from 4·85 to 7·00. The result of this examination was very encouraging, and even the poorest of the four barks examined gave at least an equal yield to the best Ecuador red barks. An examination of the root bark of *C. succirubra* gave not less than 6·0 per cent. of alkaloids, but, from the thinness of the bark, the large per-centage (74 per cent.) of water, and the labour required to procure it, it was shown that no remunerative yield could be expected from this source. The leaves of this species were next examined, but though possessed of a bitter quality, which might perhaps be of some tonic value, there was no reason to think that any febrifuge alkaloids could be expected.

The results obtained from mossing the bark were next investigated by the quinologist, and, as regards the Crown bark, it was shown that this process, when only applied for six months, greatly increased the amount of alkaloids in the bark. It was then shown that the deleterious effect of light on the bark and alkaloids had been pointed out by Pasteur many years ago, and it was on this account that he had recommended shielding the bark from sunlight while drying. This fact was experimentally verified by Mr. Broughton, and it was at the same time pointed out that as mossing neither excludes air nor oxygen, the idea of the waste occurring from oxidation was erroneous. And, generally, the investigations of the quinologist led him to the conclusion that the waste of alkaloids occurred from the exposure of the living bark to direct sunlight.

In his Preliminary Report it was also shown that the bark, in the green condition, presented several advantages which facilitate its examination for alkaloids; that these are extracted with much greater ease from the fresh than from the dry and powdered bark; and that this property of the fresh bark would eventually become of considerable importance in the manufacture or preparation of the febrifuge principles existing in the bark.

The next paper claiming our attention is Mr. McIvor's Report for 1866-67, in which he shows that the progress made throughout was most satisfactory and encouraging in every way. The total number of plants propagated on the hills amounted, on the 1st of April, 1867, to no less than 1,926,044. The first plants, planted out in August and September, 1862, had reached heights varying from fifteen to twenty-two feet, and were producing many millions of seeds, and the seeds gathered the year

previous had germinated freely. Numbers of these seeds had been distributed, and the universal reports of their excellence showed that they must have been in the finest condition. The results, too, of the analysis of bark continued to be equally satisfactory, and it was shown that a steady increase of alkaloids had been obtained annually. Thus the barks submitted for analysis in the early part of June, 1863, gave 3·40 per cent. of alkaloids; those submitted in 1864 gave 6·0 per cent. The highest result attained from the samples of 1865 was 9·72 per cent. of alkaloids, while some of the samples yielded as much as 6 per cent. of crystallised sulphates. The bark submitted in October, 1866, for analysis gave 9·79 per cent. of alkaloids, and, of this, 8·45 crystallised sulphates, showing an increase of nearly 2·50 per cent. of crystallised sulphates in one year's growth; and these results were altogether unprecedented, even in the finest sample of mature American bark.

Turning next to the condition and growth of the plants, it was shown that it was very unadvisable to cut down the tree at an early stage of its growth, as the increase of growth and bark was much more marked after the tree had attained a certain age. Thus the growth of the trees in 1866-67 was such that the weight of bark was nearly doubled. The *C. succirubra* still maintained its robust habit and luxuriant growth, and showed itself to be the most profitable species to cultivate at elevations of from four thousand to six thousand feet. The *C. officinalis B. Condaminea* almost equals the *C. succirubra* in luxuriance of growth, and comes next in value to that species, while at high elevations (between six thousand and eight thousand feet) it is the most profitable plant to cultivate. With one or two exceptions,

all the varieties of *E. Calisaya*, or Bolivian bark, were found to be delicate, difficult to grow, and generally unsuited to the climate. The bark of the *C. Pahudiana* (the kind so largely grown by the Dutch in Java) had, within the last year, much improved in appearance and value; but Mr. Howard, in his Report, thinks it a pity to grow this species, though he considers that, where grown extensively, as in Java, it might be used in decoction. The *Cinchona lancifolia* received from Java promised to be a valuable species, and, though of slow growth, was observed to be hardy and suited to the climate; it also appeared to thrive as well upon grass as upon forest land.

As regards the cultivation of the plant, it was shown that all the cinchonas did far better in the open, and quite out of the shade of forest trees. The system of staking the plants had been discontinued, excepting where they were much exposed to the south-west monsoon gales. On inspecting private plantations, it was found that many fine trees had been destroyed by earth having been washed down and heaped about the stem, or from earth having been heaped against the tree when weeding. The result of this is that a fungus attacks the plant, and destroys fine plants of four or five years' growth in as many days.

In this Report the results obtained by private planters in the hills were also alluded to, and it was shown that though many individuals entered the field at first, a good many had found it necessary or advisable to sell out, or to relinquish the undertaking. Some planters, however, had made rapid strides with their cultivation, and there were about seven plantations in a very flourishing condition. Mr. McIvor attributes the fact of a decline in the cultivation to the monetary crisis and the

high land-tax, but the true reason probably was that people lost heart in continuing a cultivation the commercial success of which had not been practically proved. By the Report of the following year, however, it seems that the cultivation was gradually gaining ground; but, as no particulars are given, I conclude that the extension of cultivation must have been extremely small.

In Mr. McIvor's Report for 1867-68 the value of mossing was very conclusively shown by the fact that the bark of *C. Pahudiana* (a species hitherto considered quite worthless) had, under this process, increased in its yields of alkaloids from 0·761 to 2·21 during the year 1867. The public sales of bark in England during the same year had also given very satisfactory results, ranging higher than those obtained for the same description of American bark. A large extent of grass land had been brought into cultivation, and it was shown that *C. officinalis* grew quite as well as upon forest land, and that *C. succirubra*, though not yet quite as fairly tried as the former, bid fair to equal it. As Mr. McIvor observes, the fact of the two most valuable kinds growing on grass land opens up a wide field for capitalists, as the amount of grass land is enormous. This, no doubt, is true, but it remains to be seen whether the field be not rather too wide. It may be alleged that the demand for quinine is unlimited; but this, it must be remembered, has still to be proved. The demand, however, would no doubt always be very great, and it is encouraging to know (at least, so I was informed by a well-known mad-doctor some years ago) that quinine is now largely used for lunatics—a class of people the rapid increase of whom may be contemplated by cinchona-growers with a kind of melancholy satisfaction.

Towards the close of this Report there is a most interesting account of the progress made in the Botanical Gardens, and many of the introductions of recent years had begun to show fairly their character, and adaptability to the climate. Amongst those which grow vigorously, and are evidently well suited to the climate, may be noticed, as valuable economical plants, the *Exogonium purga* (jalap); *Convolvulus scammonia* (scammony); *Aralia papyrifera* (the rice-paper plant of China); and *Phormium tenax* (the New Zealand flax). The value of the jalap was shown by Mr. Broughton to be as great as when grown in its native country. The scammony, though growing freely, had not as yet been chemically tested. The New Zealand flax had grown most luxuriantly in every situation. Mr. McIvor, too, had recently brought out from England no less than eleven hundred plants of every kind that appeared to be of value, or likely to succeed in India. I need not, of course, enumerate any of these, but I may mention that the *Olea Europæa*, or true olive, has been introduced, both in its normal and variegated form. I may mention here that another very valuable plant, ipecacuanha, so useful in cases of dysentery, has been introduced both on the hills and plains. This plant fortunately seems to thrive equally well at the Neilgherries and at Calcutta; and I may add that Dr. John Murray has the credit of having directed the attention of Government to the subject.

But it is time now to resume our remarks on cinchonas, and the next paper claiming our attention is Mr. Broughton's Report of August 17th, 1868, which contains an account of the following important discovery. Amongst the Crown barks grown from seed brought by Mr. Cross were a few scattered trees which presented

a marked difference from their companions, and had leaves of a narrow lanceolate shape. On analysis, this variety showed an extraordinarily large proportion of alkaloids, and, on a comparison with the adjoining trees of *Cinchona officinalis*, it was found that the total alkaloids of this lanceolate species amounted to no less than 8·0 per cent., while the bark of the adjoining trees gave only 4·48. The yield of quinine obtained crystallised came to no less than 7·35 per cent., and Mr. Broughton is of opinion that, in yield of quinine, it is of the finest quality that has ever been recorded. Besides this, it possessed every characteristic constituting excellence. Specimens of this species were sent home to be botanically examined.

In this Report we have an estimate of the value of branch bark of *C. succirubra*, and it was found that it contained 1·91 per cent. at two and a half years old, and no less than 4·31 of alkaloids at three and a half years old. The branch bark, therefore, when young, is of considerable value.

We have also to notice some analyses of Coorg bark, and though they were made at a season of the year unfavourable to the produce of alkaloids, the three year and nine months' trunk bark of *C. succirubra* gave from 4·10 to 5 per cent. of alkaloids.* Some Wynaad bark was also analysed, and this analysis was of particular interest, as the elevation did not probably exceed two thousand four hundred feet. In this bark the total alkaloids came to 4·1, and the yield of quinine was 0·6; of cinchonidine and cinchonine 3·5. These analyses show that quinine is formed in much less quantities at low elevations; but, as Mr. Broughton observes, the

* Of these, however, we have quinine only to the amount of 0·81, cinchonidine 2·15, and cinchonine 2·70.

result cannot be considered unsatisfactory, since they contain a large amount of alkaloids, which recent trials have shown to equal quinine in febrifuge effect. This result is certainly very satisfactory, as it extends very largely the range at which this plant can be grown. It was found by the quinologist that the wood of *C. succirubra* contains an appreciable amount of alkaloids. The heart-wood was found to contain the most, amounting in alkaloids to from 0·08 to 0·11 per cent. of the weight of the dry wood. Mr. Broughton, though pointing out that the total alkaloids in the wood of a plantation must be very considerable, is of opinion that they could not be remuneratively extracted while so large a yield was obtainable from the bark.

Further on in the same Report we have analyses of Neilgherry bark at elevations varying from two thousand three hundred to seven thousand seven hundred and seventy feet, and the result showed that the idea of the greater elevation yielding more alkaloids is erroneous. The whole of Mr. Broughton's experience led to the conclusion that a high mean temperature is adverse to the yield of quinine, but not to that of cinchonidine, and the elevation of from six to seven thousand feet seemed to be most favourable to the yield of quinine. As this question of elevation is of obvious importance, I give in a table the results of Mr. Broughton's experiments.

	Ootacamund.			Neddiwuttum.			
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Red Barks	Feet. 7,770	Feet. 7,660	Feet. 7,450	Feet. 6,560	Feet. 5,450	Feet. 3,500	Feet. 2,300
Total Alkaloids	2·38	2·03	4·21	5·75	3·80	4·10	4·10
Quinine	0·45	0·33	0·70	2·50	1·20	0·86	0·60
Cinchonidine and Cinchonine	1·93	1·70	3·51	3·25	2·60	3·24	3·50
Crystalline Sulphates obtained	1·75	1·60	3·20	4·20	3·10	3·58	3·40

Mr. Broughton considers it worthy of remark, that "among the numerous analyses that have been made of red bark grown in climates whose mean temperature has ranged from that of Northern Italy to that of African Tunis, no sample has been met with that did not give a more or less satisfactory yield of febrifuge alkaloids, or in which quinine was not present."

In the Report under consideration the advantages of mossing are again alluded to; but it is pointed out that no means at present exist to show that a system of mossing would, or would not, pay better than other methods of cropping the bark, such as coppicing. The cause of the increase of alkaloids by mossing was further investigated, and two trees were covered, one with tinned plate, the other with black cloth, the object being to keep the bark in darkness, while access of air was not impeded. The result showed that the deprivation of sunshine did increase the amount of alkaloid in the bark, and the alkaloid was obtained crystallised with nearly the same readiness as in mossed bark. The amount of quinine was not, however, increased, as in the case of mossed bark, and for this fact no explanation could be given. It was also shown that the renewal of the bark is not the consequence of the covering with moss, though there was reason to suppose that the protection afforded by the latter undoubtedly facilitates the re-growth. An analysis was next given of naturally-renewed bark, and it was seen that the alkaloid of re-forming bark is mainly quinine, though that of the original bark it replaces is in great part cinchonidine. This fact corroborates the statement concerning the practice of the American bark-gatherers, of partially stripping the bark off a branch, and allowing the bark

to grow again. In this Report of Mr. Broughton's there are many other interesting facts; but the space I have allotted to the subject does not admit of my mentioning anything that does not seem to be of immediately practical interest.

The next paper worthy of a passing mention is a letter from the Resident of Travancore, giving an account of the cultivation at Peermade, in that country. It is unnecessary to go into the details of this communication, which presents no new feature whatever; and the general result was, that the cultivation had turned out eminently successful.

In Mr. Broughton's next communication we have further reference to the lanceolate-leaved variety (or perhaps species), mentioned in his last Report as containing such a large amount of alkaloids. A search had since been made over the whole plantations for specimens of this variety, but no more than about a dozen could be found. The result of repeated analyses and examinations of the bark led Mr. Broughton to attach even a greater value to this kind than at first. A number of analyses are given in his Report. It was seen that the yield greatly exceeded that of the Crown barks growing under the same conditions; and in two instances the alkaloids consisted almost entirely of quinine. The amount, indeed, was quite unprecedented; and one of the barks examined gave threefold the yield of fine Bolivian Calisaya. But even this statement hardly gives an accurate idea of the value; for the alkaloid is contained in a third of the bulk of material, and the expenses for labour, carriage, and extracting the alkaloids are necessarily largely reduced. To clear up all doubts as to the value of this species, some bark

was sent to Mr. J. E. Howard, and the result of that gentleman's analysis was found closely to coincide with Mr. Broughton's. The importance of this discovery can hardly be overrated, and steps were at once taken for the rapid propagation of the new species.

In Mr. McIvor's Report for the year 1868-69 there is not much of practical interest to notice. Cinchona cultivation as a private speculation had received, it appears, *a decided check; the value of estates had* greatly fallen, and they had, indeed, become almost unsaleable. A number of seeds and plants had been sent to Burmah, and the cultivation in that country is reported to be progressing favourably. The root-bark of a *C. succirubra* tree seven years old had been sent to Mr. Howard for examination, but it turned out to be of much the same commercial value as other samples of the same bark (but of larger size) sent at the same time for analysis; and Mr. Howard thought that the root-bark of this species would not repay cultivation.

In this Report of Mr. McIvor's there is a very interesting account of the introduction and propagation of European fish, which I cannot resist alluding to; and I dare say that, after so much about cinchonas, the reader will have no objection to a temporary change of subject.

A quantity of young lake-trout fry was collected by Mr. McIvor in July, 1867, and the young fish were kept in an aquarium until their departure for India. In the aquarium they were taught to do with as little water as possible, and, on leaving England, eighteen of the most healthy were selected for a voyage to India. The other fish had not had this preparation, and this was believed to be a disadvantage. On the 3rd of November, 1867, Mr. McIvor left Southampton by the Peninsular

and Oriental Company's steamer, with eighteen lake-trout fry, twenty-four tench, twelve carp, twelve gudgeon, twelve rudd, twelve silver eels, and three gold-fish (one male and two females). Of these, fifteen trout, ten carp, twenty-four tench, twelve rudd, twelve silver eels, and three gold-fish reached the Neilgherries in safety. The gudgeon were all lost by an accident in the Red Sea, and two trout were lost by leaping out of the tubs in which they had been placed. One female gold-fish died; while nine of the eels escaped into the running stream, and have not since been seen. At the date of the Report the fish propagation had been going on for eighteen months with eminent success. The trout had spawned, and there were from two to three hundred young fry, from one to two inches in length; about the same number of young tench; three dozen young rudd; while the parent fish have grown to a large size. An interesting account is given of the method of carrying large fish to a distance; and this experiment of Mr. McIvor's is said to have been the first successful one of the kind. But space will not permit of my entering into further details on this most interesting subject.

The next letter on cinchonas that seems worthy of a passing remark is one from the sub-collector of Tinnevelly (south of the Neilgherries), who reports that a broad-leaved kind of cinchona (probably *C. succirubra*) is thriving in his district at as low an elevation as from one to two thousand feet; but no analysis of the bark is given.

In Mr. Broughton's Report of December 9th, 1869, he notices that though examinations of the *C. succirubra* bark show a total increase of alkaloids, the yield of quinine seems to decrease with the age of the tree. This dimi-

nution of quinine in the age does not obtain in *C. officinalis;* but no explanation is even suggested to account for this curious fact. It was also observed that the most vigorous and quickly-grown trees yielded a far richer bark than the more stunted ones of the same age, and the advantage of high cultivation was therefore very apparent. The leaves of various kinds were again carefully examined, and the quantity of alkaloid was shown to be too small to give the leaves any value as a febrifuge. The blossoms were also examined, but were found to contain no alkaloid. Their bitter taste is owing to quinovine, the principle which also gives the bitter taste to the leaves. The therapeutic effects of quinovine are under trial by the medical department. In this Report we have the pleasing assurance that, amongst the many barks examined from different parts of India, not one had failed to give a satisfactory result. The *C. succirubra* in especial seems to flourish everywhere; and it appears certain that, whenever the tree will grow at all, a satisfactory amount of alkaloids may be relied on.

In this Report we have also a number of experiments as to the various modes of drying the bark; and it was seen that drying the bark in the sun is injurious. This has been abundantly proved; but, to make the fact quite apparent, prolonged insolation is required, or else the exposure of the bark in a divided state, in order to have an increased surface of action. Under these circumstances, a decrease of a half per cent. in the amount of crystalline sulphates obtainable from the bark takes place. If shred bark be allowed to remain a fortnight exposed to the sun on the Neilgherries, the decrease amounts to one per cent. Under ordinary circumstances,

unless the exposure to sunlight be carelessly prolonged, the alteration in quality is practically imperceptible. The bark should, of course, be obtained in as large pieces as possible (to expose but a small surface), and be frequently turned, so as to dry it in as short a time as possible. By various interesting experiments it was also shown that the alkaloids when in the bark are very permanent substances, and extremely difficult of destruction. Even bark kept three months in a moist place, and allowed to heat to such an extent as to turn into merely a mouldering mass, gave no less than two-thirds of the original amount of alkaloids.

Experiments were next made as to the influence of the seasons on the amount of alkaloids, and it was shown that the period at which the bark is richest in alkaloids that yield the largest amount of crystalline sulphates is the month of May; but, taking into consideration the most convenient season for drying the bark, an opinion was expressed that the bark harvest might be gathered any time between November and May. In this Report there are many other interesting points discussed, which I have no space to do justice to. Amongst these are the remarks as to the condition upon which depends the amount of quinine in the cinchona barks, and the observations on the form in which the alkaloids occur in the living bark.

The attention of Government having been called to a native febrifuge existing in the bark of the large forest tree *Hymenodictyon excelsum*, Mr. Broughton was requested to investigate the subject; and in his letter or Report of June 6th, 1870, we have the results of his examinations. This tree, it appears, belongs to the same natural order as the true cinchona, and it so

greatly resembles that species in appearance that it was named for many years *Cinchona excelsa*. Being thus considered a cinchona indigenous to India, very considerable expectations were entertained that it would be found a most valuable febrifuge, if not an actual source of quinine. Some bark of the tree in question was accordingly procured, and, though bitter when fresh, was found to possess the remarkable property of losing this bitterness by keeping; and so much is this the case, that after a few days the bark becomes nearly tasteless. After much labour the bitter principle was obtained in a pure crystalline state, and a full examination showed that it was identical with æsculine, the fluorescent and crystalline principle of horse-chestnut bark. It is worthy of notice that the bark of the latter has obtained a reputation like the Hymenodictyon of India, and was considered by many as a good substitute for cinchona bark. But a full examination showed that the bark of *Hymenodictyon excelsum* differs entirely in its chemical character and products from cinchona bark; and, as the former contains no trace of quinine or related alkaloid, there seems to be little reason for supposing that it has much medicinal value. It seems to me that it would certainly have been interesting to have made a series of medical trials with æsculine; but Mr. Broughton seemed to think this scarcely necessary, as, whatever might be the effects of this remedy, it was certain eventually to be both dearer and scarcer than the cinchona alkaloids, and there could be no doubt as to its inferiority as a therapeutic agent. I may add that the loss of bitterness undergone by the bark on keeping was readily explained by the fact that æsculine in contact with decaying organic substances is decom-

posed, and produces æsculetine, a comparatively insoluble substance, with only a slight bitter taste.

The history of cinchona-planting in Bengal contains few features of particular interest, and may be said to be exactly a repetition of what was carried out so successfully in the South. In Dr. Anderson's first Report, however, it seems worthy of notice that plants of *C. succirubra* had been found to thrive at as low an elevation as three hundred and fifty feet above the level of the sea. Mr. J. E. Howard examined samples of the Darjeeling barks, and saw no reason to think them at all inferior to those grown on the Neilgherries. He also observed that the difference of climate seemed to have little effect on the alkaloid contained in North Indian bark.

The cultivation of the cinchona by companies and private individuals seems to have made far more progress in North India than in the South; and I observe, by Dr. Clarke's Report of May 27th, 1869, that the Darjeeling Cinchona Association possessed on April 1st, 1869, no less than 671,518 plants, of which 652,506 were of the *C. succirubra* species; the area planted was 275 acres; and the Association was pushing on the cultivation with great rapidity. Without particularising further, it may be added that in the Darjeeling district there were in private plantations 795,518 plants, while Government plantations contained 2,232,532.

In Dr. Clarke's Report of April 29th, 1870, he mentions that, as an experiment, a small portion of the denser portion of one of the plantations was thinned by cutting down three trees out of every four. This was found to produce 300lbs. of dried bark, worth about £25 an acre. At the same time, a considerable portion

of the more advanced trees were pruned by the removal of the lower branches. There were stored, we are told, from the thinnings and prunings, in all, 2,400lbs. of dried bark. It will be observed that no practical conclusion can be drawn from these statements. The age of the trees is not stated, nor the method of ascertaining the value of the bark; and it is not clearly stated whether the prunings of lower branches of advanced trees were from those left on the land that had been thinned, or whether they were obtained from older trees in other parts of the plantation. My only object, then, in mentioning this statement at all is to suggest that, in future, it would be advisable to present such statements in a form showing the practical results and profits of the undertaking, with the view of enabling private individuals to form some notion as to the results likely to be obtained from embarking capital in cinchona cultivation.

We have now almost got to the end of the Blue Book, and it only remains to notice a Report which, though last, is by no means least in importance. This is the Report of the Bombay Cinchona Commission, which had been appointed to estimate the value of the alkaloids, other than quinine, existing in cinchona bark. It had long been known that four alkaloids existed in bark,—quinine, cinchonine, quinidine, and cinchonidine; but the last three were all held to be of far inferior value as febrifuge agents; and the general reader has probably never heard of any other principle than the quinine of bark being of the slightest importance. The Government was naturally desirous of testing practically the value of all the alkaloids other than quinine; and accordingly commissions were appointed, both in Bombay

and Madras, to investigate the subject on the largest scale. The results were naturally looked for with some anxiety, as many barks are rich in cinchonine and cinchonidine that contain but little quinine; and, as has been seen by the examination of Coorg and other barks, cinchonas grown at inferior elevations yield but a small proportion of quinine. The Bombay Committee, after having tested the efficiency of the alkaloids on a scale sufficiently extensive to secure decisive results, gave in their conclusions as follows:—They pronounced the general effects of the alkaloids under consideration to be similar to those of quinine, though perhaps in an inferior degree, and found that they were very efficacious in treating the common fever of the country. The relative value of the four alkaloids seemed to be—1st, quinine; 2nd, quinidine; while cinchonidine and cinchonine seemed to be about equal. Their proper doses were held to be,—quinine from 3 to 10 grains, quinidine from 5 to 20, and the other two from 7 to 20 grains.

The Report of the Madras Commission was even more satisfactory, and Dr. Chipperfield was led to form a high opinion of quinidine, which he considered to be quite as valuable as the disulphate of quinine itself. In some respects it seemed to him superior to quinine, as in no instance did it produce any of the disagreeable effects termed "cinchonism;" in fact, two patients who were suffering from severe headache, stated that the medicine completely relieved this symptom: 1,145 cases of paroxysmal fever were treated with these alkaloids, and the unanimous conclusion was, that they were scarcely, if at all, inferior to quinine, any difference being of degree rather than of kind.

In the Report on the administration of Mysore for 1868-69 the cinchona plantation on the Bábábudan Hills is said to be succeeding well. It contained, at the time of the Report, six thousand plants of *C. succirubra* in flourishing condition; but the Condaminea and Calisaya plants were reported to have a sickly appearance. The whole of the western border counties seem suitable to the growth of cinchona. I was, I believe, the first person to introduce the plant into Mysore, which I did from the Neilgherries in 1865, when I sent to my estate about two hundred plants. Of these only about twenty survived, some of which were tried in the lowest and wettest parts of our district, and others in the higher and driest parts. Those on the drier estate, which lay, of course, in the most easterly part of the county, though not presenting at all a sickly appearance, did not look very vigorous; but the few plants put down in the most westerly and wet part of the county seemed to me as luxuriant as any I saw on the Neilgherries. I did not, however, continue the experiment, nor was any particular care taken of the plants. None of the bark has been analysed, but some was shown to Mr. Howard, who considered it to have an unpromising appearance. The experiments of Mr. Broughton, however, have shown that wherever the red bark (*C. succirubra*) grows the return is invariably satisfactory, and, in some shape or other, furnishes valuable alkaloids; so that I conceive no analysis is required to enable me to assert that the cinchona can be grown with advantage all along the western frontier of Mysore. The exact value of the bark, of course, remains to be seen; but, with our knowledge of the yields at the various elevations, a fairly approximate conclusion can readily be arrived at; and

there is no reason to think that the yield obtained from bark in Coorg (4·10 to 5 per cent. of alkaloids) would not be equalled all along the western border of Mysore.

I have said that cinchonas could be grown with advantage all along the western border of Mysore, but I must caution the reader against concluding that I mean to offer an opinion favourable to cinchona cultivation taken by itself. This cultivation has not, that I am aware of, ever been proved to be successful in a financial point of view; nor do I conceive that a sufficient time has elapsed since its introduction to enable any one to pronounce decidedly and confidently on the subject. But I think it may very safely be asserted that all owners of coffee plantations should put down trees wherever they can conveniently find room for them; and it is certain that they could be advantageously used as shade for coffee, though, in the last instance, the bark would have to be cautiously removed by the system of mossing introduced by Mr. McIvor on the Neilgherry Hills.

We must now say good-bye to this most interesting subject. But I find it impossible, in conclusion, to refrain from remarking on the wonderful and unbroken success which has attended all that has been attempted as regards the introduction of the cinchona into India. The whole scheme has been carried out in a way which reflects the greatest credit on the Government, and on all the gentlemen employed to carry its wishes into execution. The plant has not only been taken from America to India, and firmly established there, but every fact connected with its growth, and with the valuable remedies contained in the bark, has been carefully, and I may even say elaborately, investigated.

But though the Government has succeeded in all it has seriously attempted, there is one point which it has not attempted, and where it has been weak enough to content itself with the expression of a few feeble wishes. The Government has said that "it is much to be desired that natives in feverish districts should put down at least a few plants around their houses." It ought to have said plainly to the natives, "You must put down a few plants around your houses." It has not said this, and, until it does say it, it is certain that the large sums taken from the Indian tax-payers to introduce this important plant can never benefit the generation that has paid them.

NOTE.—I observe that (*Agricultural Gazette* of India, p. 103) the colouring matter in the red barks is likely to make a good substitute for indigo.

CHAPTER XII.

CARDAMOM-PLANTING.

It is a serious thing to say much in favour of a comparatively new and untried cultivation, and, as I should be sorry to be the means of leading any one into a speculation which may turn out to be a failure, I deem it of importance to lay before the reader all the evidence and reasons I have for supposing that the cultivation of cardamoms is likely to prove a solid and lasting source of profit. But though the reasons may seem as conclusive to the reader as they do to me, it must be considered that there are probably weak points which have either escaped my observation, or which would only become apparent in going into the cultivation on a large scale. Any one, then, who thinks of embarking capital in this cultivation should merely consider what I have to say as in all probability fairly accurate as far as it goes, but requiring a great deal of further experience to confirm it thoroughly. And as to the cultivation of the plant itself, the remarks I have to offer, or that I may have gleaned from others, must only be considered to be a basis leading to better modes of cultivation which must, sooner or later, be discovered. With these general cautions, I shall now proceed to lay before the reader a full account of the demand for, and consumption

of, this seed, and the best-known methods of cultivating it.

And here I deem it of most importance to go into the question of demand and consumption first of all, reserving a description of the plant for that part of the chapter which treats of its cultivation.

To people in England who have ever required a medical prescription the word "cardamom" will not be suggestive of very agreeable reflections, for its principal use in this country is to disguise the flavour of nauseous drugs, and, in the shape of tincture of cardamoms, it is used, I believe, pretty extensively by physicians. It is used, besides, as a spice, and is often employed in confectionery. On the Continent it is much used for that purpose, and especially in Germany. It is also used to flavour Hollands. Up to this point it is plain that not much can be said in favour of cultivating the plant; but when we turn to its use in Eastern countries, and in European Turkey, we shall find an almost unlimited demand for this spice, for in almost all Eastern countries it is used as the most favourite of spices, and there seems to be hardly a dish in use amongst Asiatics where cardamoms do not appear. As regards Oriental cookery, I have only been able to meet with one book, or rather translation of a book, written by a native of India, and the author's preface to which is as follows:—

"HE WHO FACILITATES.

"In the name of God, the peculiarly merciful and gracious.

"Treatise in explanation of delicious foods and meats.

"Let it be known to the whole community who are intelligent, and who have a taste for learning and the

arts, that whereas the excellent dispositions of the gallant Captain Paxon (may God perfect his nature!), a gentleman of high dignity, an appreciator of learning, skilled in the rules of India, qualified to estimate the sciences of Arabia and Persia, of high repute and full of intelligence, is much inclined towards the meats of India and its delightful dishes; therefore, with the approbation of that gentleman, some kinds of fine dishes are herein described in a brief manner."

Then follow a number of receipts for particular kinds of dishes, hardly one of which is without cardamoms in some shape or other. In fact, they seemed to recur as regularly as the drug does in our medical prescriptions.

Besides this, cardamoms are also used for chewing with betel by all natives who can afford them, and as this combination of areca-nut, lime, and pepper-leaves (all of which, being mixed up together, enable a man to chew betel), is universally used, it seems pretty evident that it would be difficult to overstock the Eastern market with this spice. But, in addition to this reasoning, I think it desirable to lay before the reader some further evidence on the subject, and I may mention, accordingly, that I was informed by a native merchant in Madras that almost any quantity of this spice could readily be disposed of. I may also mention that being anxious to have the best information on the subject, I wrote to Mr. Crake, one of the partners in the well-known firm of Messrs. Crawford, Colvin, & Co., London. This gentleman had been many years in business at Madras, and I do not think it would be possible to furnish the reader with a better practical opinion as regards the probable demand for cardamoms. In answer to my inquiries on the subject

Mr. Crake supplied me with the following information, which I think it advisable to give in his own words:—

"Cardamoms in this country, and in Europe generally, are used as condiments only in *small* quantities. They are chiefly required as a pungent powerful flavour by the druggists, who make free use of them in their concoctions to disguise other and less pleasant ones. This is not so in Oriental countries, where cardamoms enter very largely into the cookery of both Hindoos and Mussulmans, and, as your Madras informant told you, there is almost an UNLIMITED field for their consumption in Eastern countries, and also in European Turkey. It is this, so to say, native demand, that is the real back-stay of the value of cardamoms; and when prices in England for a series of years were unremunerative, the import of all FIRST-CLASS cardamoms declined until prices reacted, and last year, as you are aware, reached a high point. This is still so, just at present, but once satisfy the home demand, and I think the level of prices will be established rather by the Eastern than the European markets."

Having thus seen that there is such a fair field for selling the cardamoms, and taking into consideration that, as will be shown further on, they are so easily and cheaply grown, it seems natural to inquire how it is that the cultivation of this spice has been so long neglected by Europeans. And here I find it impossible to answer this question in any very satisfactory way, except that the planters in the cardamom districts seem to have turned their attention almost, if not quite, exclusively to coffee, and have probably had neither labour nor time to attend to anything else. But, besides this consideration, there was another which influenced me, and I have no doubt largely influenced others, and that was the idea prevail-

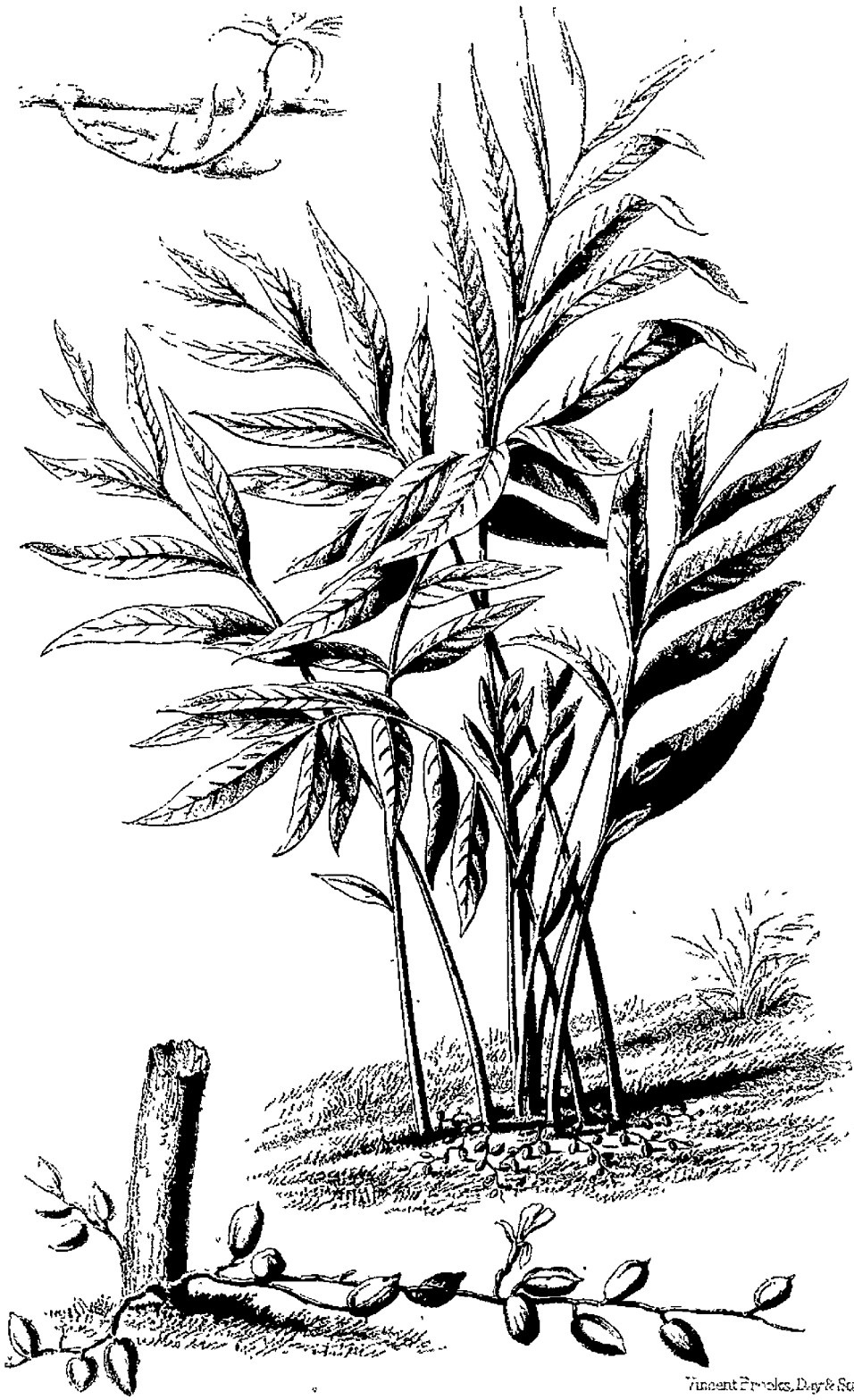
ing that cardamoms were used in such small quantities that a very slight increase in the supply would soon bring prices down to a losing point. Nor was there any information before the public to show the extent of the demand existing, or the prospect of its increasing to any considerable degree; and it was not until chance turned my attention to the subject that I thought it worth while to collect such information as could be obtained. But there is such a natural disinclination to venture on the unknown, and such a number of prudential considerations in favour of letting some one purchase experience for you, that I do not think I should have cared to take to the cultivation of cardamoms had it not been that I once took up forest land for planting coffee in a situation that was at once too wet and too hot, and which, besides, seemed to have something wanting in the soil that coffee required, notwithstanding that the forest itself was, as regards growth of timber, one of the finest I ever saw. But, however all that may be, I lost my money, and there was nothing left but to see what could be made out of the wreck; and I accordingly turned my attention to the indigenous products of the land, or rather, the only indigenous product out of which it seemed that anything was likely to be got. I consequently instructed my manager to transplant a number of the cardamom-plant bulbs, to place them under the most favourable circumstances, and to estimate carefully the expenses incurred, in order to see whether it would really pay to go into the cultivation. The experiment was accordingly made, and, without troubling the reader with details, I may mention that the result was so satisfactory, that I have ordered as much land to be got ready this season as we can conveniently find plants for. And, as regards the

cultivation, there is one very striking advantage it has over any other I know of, and that is that no expensive buildings and no machinery are required; and, besides that, the cultivation is such that, in the event of prices declining, you might entirely abandon the property without the slightest harm being done to the plants. In fact, to let the land lie fallow for a time, and to reduce the produce thereby to a minimum, would be rather an advantage than otherwise, and, when prices again reacted, the active cultivation of the plant might be resumed. I have said that neither buildings of any extent nor machinery of any sort would be required on a cardamom plantation; but it must also be borne in mind that no preparation on the coast is required at all, as in the case of coffee, which has to be got ready for market by agents on the coast, at the rate of 5*s.* per cwt. And, further, the transport expenses fall extremely lightly on this spice. A pound of cardamoms costs, for inland carriage, little more than a pound of coffee, while the value of the spice is at least from five to six times the value of coffee, and, in some instances, rises to no less than eight times the value.* So that, when we take all these advantages into consideration, it seems pretty evident that cardamom cultivation has immense advantages over every kind of cultivation that has ever been undertaken by Europeans in India; and as nothing has, I believe, been ever published on the subject, I shall make no apology for giving, at considerable length, all the information I have been able to collect. I have said that nothing has ever been published on the subject, but by the term "publish" I do not mean to say that

* I may mention that I last year sold some cardamoms, the produce of my land, at 8*s.* 7*d.* per lb. The quantity, however, was small.

nothing has ever been printed on cardamom cultivation, for a very interesting Memorandum by Edgar Ludlow, Esq., Assistant Conservator of Forests, was printed at the Government press at Mysore; but, as is usual with a great deal of valuable information on India, the paper in question was as much lost as if it had never emerged, in any shape, from the dusty shelves on which such documents generally repose. And here I may again repeat the urgent need that exists for collecting and putting into an available shape all manner of information regarding the resources of the different countries of India. Year after year information is collected merely to be lost or buried in prosy official communications, which go to the Record Office, and are then entombed for ever. The need of a Gazetteer has long been recognised; but what has not been long recognised in India, except the necessity of spending some of the time in acting that is expended daily in talking and Report-writing? Nor need the heads of the different Governments in India wait until a complete Gazetteer can be published. If they would only allow pamphlets to be printed similar to the one that I am now going to make so large a use of, writers on Indian subjects would soon utilise the material provided, and put it into such a shape as to be readily available to the public in this country.

What I am now about to write for a good many pages must be considered as merely an abridgment of Mr. E. Ludlow's Memorandum on Cardamom Cultivation in Coorg. This gentleman, as we have said, held the post of Assistant Forest Conservator; and, as his duties necessarily obliged him to have a thorough acquaintance with all the products of the jungle under his charge, his opportunities of observation therefore entitle his remarks on



Vincent Brooks, Day & Son, Lith.

I. [illegible] PLANT.
II. SECTION OF STEM WITH RACEMES & SEED PODS
III. SECTION OF RACEME IN BLOSSOM

cardamoms to be held as entirely reliable. And, first of all, it may be as well to give a general description of the plant.

The cardamoms of commerce, recognised in the British pharmacopœia, and called true or "officinal cardamoms," are the produce of the *Elettaria Cardamomum*, a native of the hilly parts of Cochin China, Travancore, Malabar, Coorg, Munzerabad, and Nuggur. The plant, as the reader will observe, is reed-like, and the capsules are produced on what look like roots springing from the base of the stem. These root-like productions are called *rhizomes* by the botanists, and along the rhizomes, which lie on the surface of the ground, are found the capsules, which are filled with a number of dark brown wrinkled seeds, of a pungent, aromatic flavour.

As we have seen, the seeds are often used to qualify other medicines. The natives of India, I may repeat, chew the fruit with betel, and they also use it in decoction to check vomiting. In infusion these seeds are used to allay coughs. They are also, as we have seen, used in confectionery, although not to any extent in Great Britain; but in Asia they are a favourite condiment, and in the North of Germany they are used in almost every household to flavour pastry. The unripe capsules are, besides, a pleasant addition to Indian chutnees.

The seeds depend for their qualities on a peculiar pungent essential oil, called oil of cardamoms, about 4 per cent. of which may be obtained from them by distillation, and which, when fresh, is colourless; but, if kept for any length of time, this oil loses its odour and taste. The seeds also contain fixed oil 10·4 per cent. Alcohol extracts from them 12·5 per cent. of an acrid burning

resin and extractive matter, the lingin amounting to about 77 per cent. Other kinds of cardamoms occur in commerce, but none are equal to the true cardamom in value, and those produced in Ceylon, Java, and on the eastern coast of India are of an inferior kind; and though the plants producing them have much general similarity, the different kinds of cardamoms differ not only in strength, but in the character of their aroma.

The Coorgs relate that in the olden time the cardamom-plant was seldom to be met with in their jungles. The seeds, however, from their value and varied uses, were eagerly sought after, and it soon occurred to the people to imitate those processes in nature which seemed to create the plant itself, or at least to increase the numbers which spontaneously sprang up. Nor were they long in observing that where a large tree had been blown down by the wind, or wherever a huge branch, by being broken off, had let sunlight into the forest, an immediate growth of the valued plant took place; and when either of these accidents of nature took place in the months which immediately preceded the falling of the annual showers, which usually fall in March and April, it was seen that an unusually large growth of plants generally resulted. To imitate these processes of nature was easy and simple, and accordingly the Coorgs cleared away the underwood, and during the months of February and March felled here and there a few large trees. These simple operations were immediately followed by a large growth of cardamom-plants; and thus was cardamom cultivation established in Coorg, and with little or no modification it has been carried on to the present day.

And here I cannot help pausing for one moment to

remark on the singular fact that this simple operation should never have been discovered in the district of Munzerabad, which lies contiguous to Coorg, or that, having been known, it was never followed up, except by a few natives at the foot of the ghauts. The natives of Munzerabad, it is true, are not so enterprising as the Coorgs, but this fact seems hardly to account for such a curious circumstance; and the entire absence of any effort to produce the plants is probably to be traced to the fact that Munzerabad was in an out-of-the-way corner, and that, though so near to a cardamom-growing country, the want of any intercourse between the two peoples was the cause of one of them neglecting what was actively cultivated by the other. The progress of coffee-planting, too, I may here observe, seems to have been extremely slow in Munzerabad, though much attention to the growth of the plant had been long paid by the natives of the Nuggur country to the north. But these facts are, after all, no more surprising than that good farming should exist in one county, and bad farming in another,—a thing that is common in England, though, considering the circumstances, much more difficult to explain.

To return to the cultivation of cardamoms in Coorg, I may continue my remarks by noticing that it has been found in that country that the plant grows in the greatest perfection in a light layer of vegetable mould resting on decayed primary rock. It luxuriates near to streams, and in places often enveloped in mists and fogs. Moisture and shade are essential to its growth, but a certain proportion of sunlight, in order to make the plant grow strong and stout, and yield good fruit, is equally necessary. Elevation is also said by Mr. Ludlow to be necessary, but he omits to state the elevation above sea-

level which seems most advantageous to the growth of the plant; and though, in my remarks upon cardamom-growing in Munzerabad, I shall be able to furnish the reader with a few hints upon this point, I should have been glad to have been able to supply the results of a more extended experience than I can boast of. The aspects most favourable to the plant are northern and western ones; and I may here refer the reader to my remarks as regards aspect in the chapter on Coffee, as both plants require plenty of light as well as shade; and the preference given in Coorg to northern and western aspects is, no doubt, founded on the same reasoning that induced me to give them the preference in treating of coffee. Though feverish, as indeed all jungly countries are at certain seasons of the year, the time for clearing the forest, and also for picking the cardamoms, is healthy enough; and during the most feverish periods of the year there is little or nothing to be done. For felling, strong, able-bodied men are, of course, required. For picking the crop, however, women and boys will do; but women seldom work in the cardamom jungles, though they are often to be met carrying food to their husbands, who, for many nights continuously, have to sleep in huts which are built in the depths of the forest. The coolies in Coorg are provided with tools, and with a daily allowance of rice, curry-stuff, salt, oil, tobacco, betel-leaf, and chunam, and are, besides, paid at the rate of nearly eleven shillings a month. These rates certainly seem to be unusually high, and it seems that the rate for picking is the same as the rate for felling; for though the work of felling is incomparably harder than that of picking, the jungles during the picking season are infested with leeches, and abound with

numbers of venomous snakes. To keep off the leeches the people smear their legs and feet with a mixture of lamp-oil and the bruised seeds of the sampagee-tree (*Michelia Champaca*, Linn.), and rubbing the legs and feet with tobacco-leaves is also of use in preventing their attacks. These leeches are certainly the greatest of plagues in the jungle countries, and more particularly abound in the wetter parts of them. They are extremely small and thin, and vary in size from about a quarter of an inch to an inch in length. They get in between the toes of the people; and though the smaller ones leave but a small mark behind them, the larger ones leave marks of considerable size. On the following day after being bitten, there is an irresistible disposition to scratch the places that have been bitten, and as dirt not unfrequently gets into the bitten part, a nasty sore commonly results. These leeches easily go through any kind of socks, except, perhaps, closely-knit and quite new cotton ones. If bitten, the best plan, when you get home, is to get some common native tobacco, and with it rub all the wounds until they bleed pretty freely, which will have the effect of allaying all the irritation and disposition to scratch the wounds. I have done this repeatedly, and always with the best effect; but in this case prevention is better than cure, and either leech gaiters or two pairs of long cotton stockings should be worn. Some people are more liable to be injured by these leeches than others, and for years I never experienced any inconvenience from them; but, at last, one out of a number of bites I once received turned into a nasty sore, which gave me a great deal of trouble. Cases of this sort are imagined to arise from the leech having been previously feeding on some noxious substance; and I think this

may probably be the case, as few people who have been much bitten manage to escape with a sore such as I suffered from. The activity of these leeches, and the rate they get over the ground, are very surprising; and if you go into the jungle at any time of the wet weather, you will see them making towards you from a distance of two or three yards. I have always been puzzled to know what becomes of these leeches during the dry season. At that time of the year you never see one, nor do they exist in the soil that I can discover, as in digging land several feet deep we find no trace of them; and yet, after months of dry weather, if we have a few hours' rain for several days in succession, the jungle will literally be found swarming with these troublesome pests. But it is time now to return to cardamom cultivation in Coorg.

In Coorg, "Thimmachah" is the god of the forests, and the Kudiyas, a race of jungle tody-drawers, the only inhabitants of these forests, are his priests. The Coorgs will never fell a tree after two o'clock in the day, believing that the offended god would cause the tree to fall in the wrong direction, and that no plants would come up; nor will they commence any new work on a Sunday, reckoning it very unlucky to do so. Tuesday and Friday are considered by them to be auspicious days. When making new plots in their jungles, after a large tree has been felled, they pick up some of the chips lying about the stump, place them on it, and walk quietly away. They believe that the pleased god then approaches and scatters the cardamom seed over the newly-prepared land. The Coorgs have many signs by which they are more or less influenced when selecting sites for new gardens. Many, however, know the good

jungles by tradition handed down from their ancestors, who had a much more intimate acquaintance with them than the present generation; for in old times, when the Coorgs so long and obstinately resisted both Hyder Ali and his son Tippoo, the people were often obliged to quit their houses and fly for safety into the recesses of their forests. But in doubtful jungles the practical test of felling a few trees by way of experiment is commonly resorted to. These are cut down in the month of February, and the growth of plants near the felled trees is a sufficient indication of the capabilities of the forest. But there are other ways of arriving at conclusions as to whether land is suited to cardamoms; and, as it is evidently of importance to collect tests which do not require time and labour, I think it advisable to enumerate those plants and trees the presence of which have been found to indicate cardamom-growing capabilities.

The first plant which calls for attention is the wottee, the only species of bamboo that grows in cardamom jungles. Of this plant there are two kinds, the nool-wottee and the kul-wottee, and, if these grow luxuriantly in the jungle, it is considered by the Coorgs a good sign. Mr. Ludlow, I may here observe, lays no particular stress on the word luxuriantly, nor does he observe that this species of bamboo grows fairly well in forests unsuited to cardamoms. Now, in some of my land which is quite out of the cardamom range, I have found considerable quantities of this species of bamboo, though not growing in a very luxuriant state; and as persons looking for cardamom lands might be induced to attach too much importance to the presence of wottees, I think it of importance to point out that unless these plants are found to be growing in very great profusion,

and with great luxuriance, their presence should not be considered as a very decisive test. Another plant which is especially found in cardamom jungles is the chikka-yelè, which, when young, much resembles the cardamom-plant. Mr. Ludlow, however, does not give the botanical name. I rather think that this plant must be the same as what is called Cogul-yelè in Munzerabad, a plant that any one might, at a little distance, readily mistake for a cardamom-plant. The durbe-kole—a tall, handsome tree, with masses of long, drooping leaves—is also mentioned, but the botanical name is again omitted. Of other trees he mentions the poon (*Calophyllum elatum*), ebony (*Diospyros ebenum*), the dupada (*Vateria Indica*), and several other resiniferous trees. The wild nutmeg and the wild pepper are also commonly to be found in forests suitable to the growth of cardamoms. There is another plant also which is rarely found except in good cardamom forest, called the angaree (*Laportea crenulata*), the leaf of which, if touched, gives a severe sting, and the pain lasts for several days, accompanied by pains in the armpits and chest. The best remedy for the sting of this plant is to rub chunam (lime) at once into the affected part.

I now purpose giving a regular account of the way in which cardamom plantations are formed by the Coorgs; and in doing so I shall use Mr. Ludlow's language almost entirely, omitting here and there only such Indian terms as are likely to be unintelligible to the English reader.

Some time, then, in February or March, the felling party—one-half of them provided with axes, and the rest with large hacking-knives for clearing the underwood—proceed to the forest with the necessary supplies

of food, and commence operations by building near to some stream a temporary hut to shelter them at night. The next morning, the head man of the party, who is necessarily well acquainted with the forest, and who has previously chosen the sites for the projected gardens, points out to the coolies the trees that are to be felled. Half of the party then commence to clear the underwood, while the remainder set to work with their axes and fell the large forest trees. The Coorgs have an idea that it is of great importance that the ground should be well shaken by the fall of some heavy tree, and if from any cause a tree does not crash down with sufficient force, they fell another across it. Each plot generally consists of about the tenth part of an acre, and care is taken to leave about twenty to thirty yards of jungle between each garden, as well as not to make too many gardens in one year, lest there should be a too great and sudden diminution of the moisture which is so much required by the cardamom-plant. From fifty to one hundred gardens are made annually, until the whole jungle is under cultivation. If represented in a plan, a cardamom jungle fully cultivated would be not unlike a checkered board.

In May, during the early rains of the south-west monsoon, the young plants shoot up all over the cleared ground, but especially near to the roots and stem of the fallen tree. By the October following they will have grown three or four inches, and by the ensuing February will have attained a height of about one foot, with from eight to ten leaves on each plant. The seeds ripen in October, and in the fourth year, or about three years and a half from the springing of the plant, a small crop, called by the Coorg "God-fruit," will be gathered. At

this time each rhizome will have thrown up about eight stems. After the plants have grown to the height of two feet the gardens must be annually weeded. When trees have reached the height of about four feet, or say in the third year, a little culling will be required, for each plant must have six feet of clear ground left around it. In removing superfluous plants, care must be exercised in preserving the strongest and healthiest-looking specimens. In the fifth year the plants will give a good crop, and will probably continue to do so for the following seven years, when they will begin to present a sickly and exhausted appearance. It will then be necessary to select some large trees from the surrounding jungle, and fell them right across the sickly plots. This is generally done during the months of February and March, when the lands were originally prepared for cardamoms, but may also be done with great advantage some months earlier. Young plants will then spring up as before, and many of the old plants will have their stems and racemes killed by the fall, but from their rhizomes fresh stems will shoot, and the plants will bear with increased vigour for the next eight years, when the same process of renovation will have to be gone through again. The year in which the forest trees are thus felled into the cardamom plots naturally gives but little or nothing, and during the ensuing year but a light crop will be gathered. But this very much depends upon the quality of the soil, and on this also depends the early or late coming into bearing of the original garden. A cardamom jungle, if thus carefully worked, never becomes exhausted, and the cultivation may be continued on the same land for an indefinite period. One rhizome will often have over

twenty stems, and, as these die off (and they seldom last longer than seven or eight years), fresh ones spring up to supply their place.

The fruit is occasionally borne on the upper part of the stem,* but this is extremely rare, and I may mention that in Munzerabad I have never seen or heard of an instance of this departure from the ordinary habit of the plant. When from one stem four racemes are thrown out, it is called by the natives the true or full crop; if three only, three-quarter crop; if two, half crop; and if one only, quarter crop. One raceme will have from eight to fourteen branches, and each branch from three to six pedicels. When the plant is grown under the most favourable conditions, these branches are grown close together; when, however, the conditions are unfavourable, the racemes are long and weak, and the branches far apart.

Having thus seen how cardamoms are grown by the Coorgs, I now purpose employing a little space in describing the way the seeds are gathered and prepared for market.

In the month of September, then, or early in October, the cardamom-gatherers start for the forests, and as rain may be expected, or at least some heavy showers, in those months, the first thing they do is to build a well-thatched hut. On each side of the hut are erected rough jungle-wood beds for the people to sleep on, and

* It seems to me that one of the first things to be done towards improving cardamom cultivation is to propagate the variety which produces seeds on the upper part of the stem. It is obvious that the yield per acre can never be very great as long as we have to depend on the ordinary way in which the plant bears; but if we can procure plants which will bear above as well as below, the cultivation would at once be placed on a much more satisfactory footing. Another advantage will be that a portion of the seeds would not be so liable to the attacks of rats and vermin as they are at present.

in the middle a pit is made about four feet square and three feet deep. The sides are covered with leaves, and around the top stones are placed to prevent dirt or earth falling in. This pit is to receive the cardamoms when picked off the racemes. The crop is gathered before it is fully ripe, as, if left until quite ripe, it is liable to be eaten by snakes and frogs; and, besides this, the capsules, if ripe when picked, are liable to split when undergoing the process of drying. The workmen are formed into two parties: one goes in front with large knives to clear the gardens of weeds and the shoots of young trees, and at the same time the cardamom-plants are cleared of dead stems. Everything having thus been prepared, the gatherers then set to work and break off the racemes close to the stem of the plant. When their baskets are well filled, the people return to the hut with their loads, and place them down near the pit. This work goes on all day, and, after they have had their evening meal, the seeds are picked from the racemes, and thrown into the pit. This work often keeps the men employed up to a late hour. On the morning following, the cardamoms are measured, put into bags, and sent to the drying-ground. Near to the drying-ground there must always be some shed or house into which the cardamoms can be removed in case of rain. The seeds are dried by exposure to the sun, and are spread out for that purpose on large bamboo or date mats. Those nearly dry are never allowed to get mixed with those still green. Four days' strong sun is quite sufficient, and great care must be taken not to leave them too long in the sun, as the capsules, if over-dried, are very liable to split. The moment they split, the small brown-black seeds, of course, fall

out; and as the seeds, when unprotected by the pod, soon lose their aroma and fall in value, the loss entailed in consequence of the capsule splitting is therefore considerable. Should rain fall continuously,—a thing very liable to happen when the season is an early one,—the cardamoms have to be dried by the smoke of wood-fires. This turns them of a dark colour, and lessens their value. Cardamoms dried in the sun are of a yellowish-white colour. Mr. Ludlow tried the experiment of tying up a few racemes, with their branches and capsules, in a room with a good current of air, and found that the result was very satisfactory. The cardamoms took, of course, longer to dry than if they had been exposed to the sun, but there was no perceptible difference between them and the best sun-dried ones. And this plan, I may add, would certainly, it seems to me, lessen the risk of the capsules splitting, which I should think they would be very apt to do when suddenly exposed to the fierce rays of a tropical sun.

After the cardamoms are dried the fruit-stalks have to be removed, and the following process is resorted to:—Two men sit on the ground opposite to one another, and place their legs so as to form a kind of hollow between them, into which a small, strong, round bamboo basket, slightly hollowed, is fitted. Into this another man feeds the capsules. The two men seated on the ground then rub the capsules with their open hands against the sides of the basket, and by this process they are freed from the stalks. This work is very trying, and unless the coolies wear a veil over their faces, the dust, which is very pungent, makes them ill. Nor can it be performed in rainy weather, as the capsules absorb moisture very freely, and, if they were subjected to this process when

damp, would be spoilt. After this, the women carefully separate the refuse and the empty capsules from the seeds and full capsules, and the seeds are subsequently separated from the capsules by hand-winnowing. The different qualities of capsules should also be separated from one another, or, in other words, should be carefully garbled, for by thus separating the good from the bad a much better price is obtained than could otherwise be expected. The thorough cleansing and preparing of the capsules is of the greatest importance to the cultivator; and this, I may remark, is equally true of coffee and all other products. After being fully prepared for market, the cardamoms are put into baskets and kept in a dry room, to which the wind has but little access. This is done to preserve their aroma. Cardamoms lose in weight and shrivel in bulk by keeping, and it is therefore an object to the cultivator to dispose of them as soon as possible.

Rain is essential to the cardamom-plants, and a heavy monsoon is good for them; but they derive particular benefit from the partial showers that sometimes fall in January, more especially if these are followed by others in March and April. The old people in Coorg say that in former years the rainfall was very much heavier. Mr. Ludlow thinks that this notion may be attributed partly to the fact that the people were not so well off in former days, and, being often obliged to be out in all weathers, thought more of the rain that fell than they do now, when they can afford to spend more time at home. But I have heard the same thing said as to the lessening of the rains in the contiguous county of Munzerabad, and I have the following reasons for supposing that the idea is correct; for, notwithstanding that

the monsoon seems to rain on, with only occasional breaks, and with apparently little to distinguish one part of the rainy season from another, the natives have names for each rain, and divide the whole monsoon into periods, each one of which has its own name. Sometimes these periods are divided from one another by a break, or, in other words, a few sunshiny days, but it is difficult to conceive how they managed to hit upon divisions or distinguishing signs first of all. But, however all this may be, it is certain that many rains, the names of which still survive, and which fell towards what is now the wind-up of the south-west monsoon, often do not fall at all now, or come down in the most infinitesimal quantities. And I have also heard it asserted that birds which were formerly to be seen only in the driest portion of the district are now to be frequently met with in the wettest parts of it. As regards this matter of rainfall, I do not think it necessary to say anything more here, as I have already alluded to the subject in a previous chapter. Mr. Ludlow, I may add, admits that for the last four or five years (he writes in 1869) there had certainly been an unusual diminution in the rainfall; and he is of opinion that plants which, like coffee, require much moisture, have not nearly as good a chance of thriving in the open as they had six years ago.

The cardamom-plant, it appears, has many enemies. Before they ripen, a small grub sometimes attacks the capsules, and should these be at all injured, the seeds they contain are sure to decay. After the seed is ripe, snakes of the "Mandala" species feed on the capsules. They ensconce themselves at the foot of the plant, and often bite the coolies who are engaged in gathering the

crop. These snakes are killed in great numbers every year during the picking season. Frogs and squirrels also eat the fruit, and porcupines attack the stem of the plant. When elephants visit these jungles they do considerable damage, but with the advance of civilisation the numbers of these animals have decreased, and their visits to the cardamom forests are extremely rare. The blanket-caterpillar, which has its body covered with long hairs, abounds in these jungles, and its sting is very painful.

Many conjectures have been made with regard to the spontaneous growth of the cardamom-plant, and it may be remarked that the growth of many other plants is equally surprising and unaccountable. When a piece of jungle is felled, thoroughly dried, and set fire to, the soil seems to be burned right through and through, and even large logs are often partially consumed. And to give an idea of the effect on the soil, I may mention that an iron peg, driven into the ground so that not a part of it protruded, was found, after the jungle had been burned, to be no less than six inches out of the ground.* But even after fires of the most extraordinary severity an immense variety of plants, and shrubs, and trees spring up with the first shower of rain, and perhaps not a few weeks after the land has been burnt off. Of these, the best known is the charcoal-tree (*Sponia Wightii*), which is not found in any old forest, but which springs up invariably wherever jungle is felled and burnt. Indeed, a fire seems absolutely essential for the production of this particular tree, as you may clear down forest, or at least cut down the underwood,

* *Vide* "The Borer in Coorg, Munzerabad, and Nugger," by Colonel C. P. Taylor.

and, by felling trees here and there, let in plenty of sunlight, and yet, under such circumstances, I have never known a charcoal-tree to spring up. On this subject, however, the reader will find some remarks in my second chapter, and in the chapter on Coffee, and I therefore pass on to Mr. Ludlow's conjecture as to the spontaneous growth of the cardamom-plant.

The cardamom-plant, then, according to Mr. Ludlow, can be easily grown from seed, and it also admits of transplantation, but will not last long except in a thoroughly congenial soil. One fact that seemed particularly striking was the total absence of young plants in any old cardamom plots, notwithstanding the great number of seeds that must annually fall on them. Mr. Ludlow's opinion as to the spontaneous growth of the plant is that the soil of all cardamom jungles contains the seed in abundance. By felling a tree, when making a new plot, we admit the sun, and the ground, being well shaken by the fall of the timber, is opened up to the action of the air. The admission of sunlight then raises the temperature of the soil to the point at which the seed will germinate. The cutting and drying of the brushwood, which probably draws from the soil those nutritive particles required by the plant, gives it a fairer chance of flourishing. In about seven years the plants would appear to have exhausted the soil. It will be remembered that the only process of renovation practised by the Coorgs is to fell another large tree or two across the worn-out plots. This, of course, smashes the plants, and prevents their bearing for one year. The ground has, therefore, the advantage of lying fallow for a year; and the tree that for years has been drawing from the soil probably the very particles the cardamom-plant

requires, decomposes, and returns them again to the soil and the surrounding plants, which causes them to flourish anew. When this stock of manure is exhausted, a fresh stock must be given, or, in other words, another tree must be felled. Some attribute the growth of the plants, after the felling of the large trees, to the fact of seeds having been deposited in the hollows of these trees by birds; but though there is every reason to believe that snakes, squirrels, and frogs facilitate the dispersion of the seed, it is not known or thought that birds eat the fruit at all. Besides, if this theory were correct, decayed trees, as containing the most hollows, would be the best to fell, whereas the soundest trees are invariably selected.

I confess that this theory of growth that Mr. Ludlow has adopted seems to me far from satisfactory. No evidence is adduced to show that jungle soils are originally stocked with the cardamom seed. And it may be observed, further, that Mr. Ludlow himself was particularly struck with the absence of young plants in the old cardamom plots, which must have been fully stocked with seeds from the old plants. And when we come to consider that the conditions for germination must at least have been equal to those that existed when the land was first cleared, and the original plants spontaneously sprang up, it seems to me that this theory of the first plants springing from seed is untenable; nor have I been able to discover that the causes of the spontaneous growth of cardamoms have as yet been even approximately traced.

I shall now conclude my remarks on the cultivation of cardamoms in Coorg with a few observations, or rather suggestions, of Mr. Ludlow's regarding the improvements that should be effected in growing the plant.

Irrigation under shade would, he believes, be of great advantage to the plant, for it luxuriates near to running water; but no amount of water, it must clearly be understood, can make up the absence of shade. The vacant places in the cardamom plots should also be carefully filled up, and this should be done either by transplanting seedlings, of which in many spots there is a superabundance, or by propagation by tubers, which Mr. Ludlow has found to be the quickest method. The pits should be made after crop time, the seedlings put in during the month of July, and tubers in early rains in March and April. By continually felling trees the jungle is apt to be exhausted, and it is now time that this rude system of fertilising the soil, and so renovating the exhausted plots, should be abandoned, more especially as this felling of trees across the plants deprives the proprietor of a crop for at least two years. The application of manure ought to take the place of this primitive method, and, where manure is not procurable, the plants should have the soil around them dug to the depth of eighteen inches, and a portion of this soil should be removed, and its place supplied by fresh vegetable mould from the surrounding jungle. The rootlets would soon avail themselves of the proffered nourishment, and the plants might thus be kept in full bearing condition for an indefinite number of years. In plots where too much sun has been admitted, a few jungle trees should be allowed to grow up, those being selected that would yield that slight degree of shade which seems most advantageous to the plant. But the degrees of shade must, of course, be regulated by the exposure, and especially by the climate of the particular locality. It is recommended, also, that pieces of metal, stamped with numbers in Canarese and

English, should be affixed to a tree in each plot. This would facilitate the owner in supervising his workmen, and would insure the ready comprehension of any reports that might have to be sent in during his absence.

I may here mention that, in concluding his Memorandum on Cardamoms, Mr. Ludlow remarks that the climate of Coorg is particularly favourable to the growth of orchidaceous plants, and he is of opinion that the cultivation of the vanilla-plant (*Vanilla planifolia* and *V. claviculata*) ought certainly to succeed in the cardamom forests.

Having thus laid before the reader all the information I have been able to obtain regarding the cultivation of cardamoms in the adjacent district of Coorg, I now propose giving the results of our experience in Munzerabad, and also the opinion of those natives who have been engaged in the cultivation of the plant. To commence, then, with the information obtained from the natives, I shall here give, as briefly as possible, the rules observed by them as regards cardamom-planting.

1. Select land that is damp, and, if possible, with a stream or two running through it.

2. In clearing for cardamoms, cut away the underwood and fell a large tree here and there.

3. Burn the underwood when three parts dry, so that the burning may be as light as possible.

4. Pits to be dug a foot deep, and a foot and a half wide, and about three feet apart, and these to be carefully filled with top soil.

5. In cutting the bulb, take sufficient for the springing of three or more shoots, and take great care not to hack or injure the bulb in any way.

6. The part cut off for transplanting is not to be planted deep, nor are the shoots to be cut.

7. Should the new shoots hang down, they are to be tied together and a support given.

8. The plants to be regularly weeded.

9. When the plant comes into bearing, all the racemes should be laid out above the fallen leaves and rubbish.

10. In clearing wottee swamps (the wottee is a species of bamboo which grows in clumps), a clump of wottees to be left at intervals.

11. The stem of the cardamom-plant is not to be heaped round with fallen leaves, mould, or rubbish.

12. After the cardamoms have been picked, the racemes that have borne to be removed, and old shoots to be cut off.

13. The cardamoms to be planted early in the monsoon.

Before commencing to experiment on cardamom cultivation, I first of all gathered the above information; and since then those rules have all been carried out by my manager, and we have seen every reason to be satisfied with the result. The principal difference between this system and that pursued in Coorg seems to lie in the fact that the underwood with us is burnt, while in the Coorg account no mention of burning is made. With us, too, some attempt is made to transplant, and fill up the land regularly; while no such attempt seems to have been made in Coorg. Then the method of picking seems to differ. The Coorgs seem to make a clean sweep at the outset, and at the same time remove the racemes that have borne crop. We pick the ripest seeds at first, and then go over the

clearing a second time, when the remainder of the crop is removed, and the bearing racemes are then taken off.

By the last report I have from my manager in India, he is decidedly of opinion that young plants are much to be preferred to removing bulbs from those that have been long growing. He is also of opinion that, in removing a portion of the bulb, as much should be removed as to give three or four shoots; so that, in case one should rot, you would have the others to fall back on. Another reason for doing this is that the eyes on the bulb lie so close together that, if you tried to remove only one, it is probable that the coolies would injure several in cutting it out, and you would, therefore, lose the mother-plant, and run every chance of losing the one removed for transplantation.

We have as yet made no attempt at manuring the plants, as what little we have planted have borne little, and do not seem to require it. Nor have I ever heard of an attempt being made to manure this plant otherwise than with the vegetable mould, or top soil of the jungle. There are, besides, considerable difficulties in the way of manuring, on account of the rugged nature of the ground in these jungles, and the consequent difficulty of transporting manure of any sort. Nor does it seem to me that a light seed like the cardamom can remove so much from the soil as to call for any other manure than the vegetable mould which can be so readily procured.

I have said that the causes of the spontaneous growth have never even been approximately traced, and it certainly seems to me that it would be difficult to find a more fanciful product of nature. Why it should be

frequent in one jungle, and why it should be totally absent in another only a few miles distant, and of the same elevation, seems difficult to explain. And there is an instance of this close to the very land I am at present planting. My manager attributes it to the fact that the jungle in which none are to be found was cleared for grain-planting by some jungle tribes many years ago; but, considering that these tribes always select the slopes, and would naturally leave untouched those swampy pieces of ground in which cardamoms most abound, I do not think that the clearing could have had anything to do with the absence of plants. And it is equally puzzling to find that you may remove this plant only a few miles from the line of country where it is indigenous, and place it under the most favourable conditions, without being able to arrive at a satisfactory result. My principal coffee plantation, for instance, lies not more than four miles—or at the most five—out of the cardamom range, and though the rainfall is certainly a good deal less in inches, it extends over exactly the same period, and the general temperature is, I should say, almost exactly similar; and yet the cardamom-plants that I transplanted six or seven years ago, and put down with every care in a swampy, shaded, sheltered ravine, are reported to be, though alive and bearing, vastly inferior in every respect to those under the most unfavourable circumstances in the jungles where the plant is indigenous. With other trees and plants that I have observed the range of habitat seems not to be so abruptly broken. For instance, the range in which the poon-tree abounds is the same as the cardamom range; but though these trees are not commonly found out of that particular line of country, they some-

times occur at considerable distances from their natural home. But out of their exact range you never meet with such a thing as a cardamom-plant. It may seem to the general reader that I have written to a tiresome length regarding this plant; but I am particularly desirous of pointing out its apparently eccentric (I say apparently, because nothing is eccentric in nature, and eccentricities only exist in our eyes when we have failed to detect and unravel, as it were, the operations of nature) growth, because I plainly foresee that in this cultivation many failures will probably occur if the greatest precautions are not taken with the view of ascertaining the suitability of sites for cardamom plantations.

In the Mysore province the excise-tax on cardamoms was, for some unexplained reason, abolished in 1866; *and, for some reason which seems at least equally un*-intelligible, it was re-imposed in 1868, at the enormous rate of 4*s*. per 24lbs. weight of cardamoms, or, in other words, at the rate of no less than 18*s*. 8*d*. per cwt., a rate upwards of nine times the amount levied on coffee, which is taxed at 2*s*. per cwt.—a tax which was always considered high, and a reduction on which to the amount of twenty-five per cent. was recommended by Mr. Bowring. There was, of course, some reason in taxing cardamoms at a higher rate than coffee, because the article is so much more valuable; and no doubt the high rates that have prevailed for the last few years induced the commissioner to tax cardamoms so heavily. But it is evident that these high rates could never be obtained if cardamom cultivation was extensively carried on; and taking that fact into consideration, I think that a tax of, say, three times the amount of the tax on coffee is the

highest that should be levied. As an instance of the extraordinary fluctuations in the value of this spice, I may mention that some years ago I only obtained 4*s.* to 4*s.* 6*d.* per lb. for cardamoms, while last year, for the produce of the same land, I obtained no less than 8*s.*, and subsequently even a higher rate; but, as was observed by Mr. Crake, if the home demand was once fully supplied, it is evident that prices would recede to the old level. But, supposing that the Government was unwilling to fix the tax at a low rate, they might make it rise and fall with the value of the article. This, however, would be a troublesome plan; and as the revenue from cardamoms is extremely trifling, amounting in 1868-69 to less than £180, and as it is plainly the policy of the Government to utilise all the forests on the frontier, it would be a great encouragement to people desirous of taking to this cultivation if the rate was fixed at a small amount for, say, the next ten years, when it might again be made subject to such a revision as might seem expedient. Another point to be considered, too, is, that though the value of the spice is high, the produce per acre seems, by Mr. Ludlow's account, to be extremely small. He calculates that 28lbs. only can be regularly got from an acre, equal in England, at 6*s.* per lb., to 168*s.*, while, allowing the yield of coffee to be as low as 6 cwt. per acre, the return for that in England would be, at 80*s.*, no less than 480*s.* It may be argued that, as there is no tax on the land, this would not matter; but wherever you get a small value off your acre, you require just so many more acres to work, and therefore your expenses are just so much more. This, of course, is a matter that yet remains to be exactly proved, as no

European that I am aware of has ever taken to cardamom-planting in the way that Europeans have taken to tea and coffee planting. But, unless more favourable terms than those existing at present are conceded by Government, it is hopeless to look for any extension of the cultivation in Mysore. I am the only cardamom-planter at present in the province; and, as no one else has gone into the business, it is plain, now that people are commencing to appreciate better the value of this spice, that the main deterrent is the high taxation. The attention of the Government, I must in justice add, is only now being called to this subject; and had the matter been urged previously, I have no doubt that we should have seen a reduction of the tax by this time. As it is, and taking into consideration that our Governors in Mysore have always maintained the policy of doing everything they could to foster every sort of enterprise in the province, I feel little doubt that cardamom taxation will soon be put on a satisfactory footing.

CHAPTER XIII.

TEA, COTTON, SILK, SANDAL-WOOD, RHEA-GRASS.

THE reader nas, I dare say, often heard of tea as the cup that doth cheer, but not inebriate; but I am now going to introduce him to a cup of tea which will do both. There are many curiosities in the way of experiment to be seen in London, but few, I fancy, have seen a cellar all lit with gas, and lined with barrels of tea-wine, and with the orthodox cellarer who serves you with sample after sample, between which the bewildered palate vainly endeavours to discriminate. As I stood in a cellar of this sort about a year and a half ago, surrounded with tea-wines, some more than two years in cask, my very soul overflowed with wonder at the ingenuity and determination of speculators. The cellar assuredly was not got for nothing, nor was the cellarer, nor even the building itself, though it had formerly been a stable; nor, too, the analytical chemist, who had his experimental room above, which was well lighted by a skylight constructed for the purpose. Under the skylight was a large table, with apparatus of different sorts scattered about it; on another table were samples of nearly every kind of tea in glass-stoppered bottles; while, on a third table, were the finest scales in use amongst analytical chemists. And what, it may be asked, set all

this going? Well, some years ago it was found that the public were being choked with tea of one sort and another, spurious and real, and both mixed together. The gentlemen in the tea trade were some of them apprehensive as to the tea-consuming power of the British. One of them applied to the gentleman who subsequently conducted the experiments, and the glorious idea of making the public consume, in the shape of an alcoholic beverage, what they would not drink as tea, was speedily suggested. Hence the cellar full of tea-wine. The result obtained was really wonderful, and the great difficulty of obtaining a dry base* had been successfully overcome. Tea-wines, both dry and sweet, had been produced; and of these the dry wine resembled common Sauterne in colour and taste. Some time after this I attended a lecture on wines in general at the Society of Arts, when the table in front of the lecturer was covered with bottles containing six specimens of tea-wines for the audience to taste at the close of the evening. The attendance was large, and the wines were experimented on with considerable interest. There were dry wines, sweet wines, and champagne tea-wines, the corks of which were duly cut, and the foaming beverage duly found its way down the throats of those who felt inclined to experiment on the effects of aërated tea-wines. As for myself, I could not help being struck with the active interest displayed by the tasters. They smelled and tasted, and then tasted and smelled. Two gentlemen in particular attracted my attention; and I heard one say to the other, "Just you come down to our office to-

* When a dry base is procured, or, in other words, a liquid which has what is known as the dry quality in wines, you can then proceed to the manufacture of almost any wine.

morrow, and I'll show you." Here the remainder of the conversation became inaudible; but the truth at once flashed on me that these people were not evincing such interest for nothing, and that I was surrounded with the true genius of the British adulterator. Though these conclusions might possibly have resulted from an active imagination, it is certain that the tea-wines did not, or, if they did, they were at least accomplished and stimulating facts. But was it not possible to improve even upon them? was a question which next arose. They were wines undoubtedly; but might they not be made far more cheaply by substituting coffee-tea at 4*d.* for Congou at 2*s.* per lb.? This is an idea which I make a free present of to the public; and if a combination of tea and alcohol is ever to be drunk, I feel sure that roasted coffee-leaves will supply the sustaining effects of ordinary tea equally well. But the general suitability of roasted coffee-leaves has yet to be experimented on before a decisive conclusion can be arrived at.

And now as to the making of tea-wines. Carefully-selected tea, preferably good Congou and some Oolong, is infused with boiling water, in proportion of half a pound to the gallon. This infusion is effected in a vat with a perforated false bottom, in which the water is heated to ebullition by means of steam. When the tea is made it is drawn off the leaves (which remain in the vat on the perforated bottom), and allowed to run slowly over sugar contained in a sieve, so that every 75lbs. of tea dissolve 25lbs. of white sugar. To the solution a quantity of yeast (3lbs. to 7lbs. per 100) is added, whereupon it begins to ferment. This process must be conducted with caution, in rooms of equal tem-

perature day and night. When partially fermented the wine is racked, and fined with pure gelatine. Thereupon it begins to ferment again, owing to the removal of tannin, and now assumes character, and gradually becomes clear. In the course of a few months the beverage is ready for use.

There are several other ways of making tea-wines, and amongst them are the following:—The sugar and water are fermented by means of yeast, and a portion of the fermented liquid is infused over tea, and the strong infusion added to the fermented liquid. This process shortens the time necessary for fermentation. Such fermented liquid can also be impregnated with tincture of tea, or tea-liqueur, a delicious alcoholic extract of tea. This is produced as follows:—Tea is made by means of boiling water, and evaporated to extract. This is taken up by the strongest and purest alcohol, filtered, and kept in bottles. It acquires an exquisite flavour. Of this a quantity corresponding to the half a pound of tea mentioned in the first-named method is put into the fermented sugar solution. The effervescent tea, or "thé mousseux," is made like soda-water; viz., it is impregnated with carbonic acid after being finished.

Such, then, is a brief account of some of the methods of making tea-wine, which, as far as can be seen at present, may be made cheaply enough to come within reach of the poorer classes, and may one day help to displace some of that adulterated and drugged apology for beer which is now so largely consumed. But it is time now to say something as to the cultivation of the tea-plant itself.

The tea countries of India are, as I dare say most of my readers are aware, for the most part confined to the

northern and north-eastern regions of India. In the south, though introduced many years ago on the Neilgherry Hills, it never seems to have found favour. Whether this was owing to its having been driven from the field by coffee, or to the fact of tea in Southern India not paying, I am unable to say. I have never paid any attention to the plant myself, though for a good many years I have had plants growing in my garden, and these, I may add, have attained a considerable size. The plant, too, has been grown in Coorg and on the hills in Nuggur, the most northerly division of Mysore. But the only quarter in Southern India where I believe a tea-planter is to be found is on the Neilgherry Hills; and, as it is my intention to confine my observations as much as possible to South India, I shall content myself with laying before the reader, in as brief a form as possible, the leading facts of the cultivation as it at present exists on the hills; and subsequently I purpose offering a few remarks on the results of the experiments that have been made in the little province of Coorg.

In a work entitled "The Neilgherry Tea-Planter," by Mr. James McPherson, the reader will find full information as regards the cultivation of tea on the hills; and I cannot, I think, do better than refer people interested in tea to the book in question. In the meantime, however, and for the benefit of those who may find it difficult to procure Mr. McPherson's book, I shall now proceed to notice two points which seem to me to be of especial interest. The first point has reference to the fact that tea can be grown on grass land; and the second point on which I purpose making a few remarks concerns the probable profits of tea-planting.

And, first of all, as to growing tea on grass lands.

The fact that tea can be grown on grass land at all at once places the plant on a footing which gives it immense advantages over coffee, which can only be grown within certain narrow limits as regards climate and elevation, and which absolutely requires the finest forest land to grow the tree in anything like a paying form. And it must be borne in mind that if, as regards climate, the limits of coffee are narrower than those of tea, the limits, as regards the lands it can be grown on, contract the cultivation to an extraordinary degree. A coffee district is no sooner known than it is absolutely absorbed, and in a very few years clean swallowed up, just as Munzerabad has been; whereas, if coffee could be grown on grass lands, the cultivation might be indefinitely extended. The fact, too, of its being possible to produce tea on grass land seems to show that the plant requires far less from the soil than coffee, and the advantages arising from that consideration need not, of course, be enlarged upon. In passing I may also mention that another point of superiority seems to lie in the fact that the tea-plant is not nearly so liable to the attacks of insects as coffee. In fact, in Mr. McPherson's little work there is no mention of any tea-plant enemy at all; and I should hardly think it possible that any objections on that score would have been passed over, had the liability to blight or insect attack been at all probable.

On the Neilgherry Hills we are informed by Mr. McPherson (and my own observation amply confirms this) that the grass lands are very abundant, and often of excellent quality. In many instances six feet or more in depth of excellent loamy soil may be met with;

but it must be borne clearly in mind that, even at the best, grass lands require both manuring and digging before they can at all compare with forest lands for tea cultivation. Shallow soils should, of course, be avoided; and the appearance of the grass will usually form a fair guide as to the quality of the land. It seems advisable in all cases to make sure of an average depth of, at the least, three feet of good loamy soil, and pits should be dug at intervals to ascertain the depth of soil. The finest soils are usually to be found in the lower portions of sheltered valleys, which are naturally enriched from the washings of the higher lands. Peat-swamps, it may be added, will not, as a rule, grow tea, and they will not grow it at all if there is the least stagnation of water. Nor will the plant bear an excess of water in any soil; and experiments have shown that it soon dies if over-irrigated.

Passing now to the subject of returns, I proceed to quote the experience of Mr. McPherson as to the results of tea-planting in grass and other lands.

It appears that on the Neilgherry Hills a hundred acres of tea may be brought into full bearing for from £2,000 to £3,000, and this calculation assumes that all the work is to be done in the most thoroughly efficient style. Mr. McPherson next proceeds to give the yield per acre of the plant, and the first two instances show the produce obtained on grass lands. It appears, then, according to Mr. McPherson, that a piece of grass land, well cultivated, gave in the third year 149lbs., in the fourth year 235lbs., and in the fifth year 260lbs. per acre. In another instance (and this was under Mr. McPherson's own supervision), an acre of grass land, the plants on which had been shamefully

neglected for a number of years, gave, upon being cut down and a new growth being produced, 233lbs. of made tea. Another acre upon forest land, the plants on which had been treated like the last named, gave 297lbs. of made tea. Judging from these results, Mr. McPherson thinks himself justified in assuming that, under favourable circumstances, an average of 200lbs. per acre may be relied on. He also is of opinion that an estate in full bearing, and with all its buildings in order, might be easily worked for £6 an acre per annum. The expenses of carriage, house charges, &c., are not given by Mr. McPherson, but it would seem, from the whole of his statements, that a net profit of from £8 to £10 an acre may be expected.

I have thus given the results of Mr. McPherson's experience, and I have no doubt that they are correct as far as they go; but I must point out to the reader that the results should be received with that caution which all results should be which are derived from a narrow basis. Results from single acres are very well; but, till we are able to quote the results of hundreds of acres, it will obviously be impossible to arrive at really reliable conclusions.

Whatever uncertainty, however, may prevail as regards the profits of Neilgherry tea, there can be no mistake whatever as to its excellent quality, and in the *Agricultural Gazette* of India (No. 4, Nov. 15th, 1870) the reader will find careful reports, by eminent London brokers, on no less than thirty specimens. I have no space here to enter into details, and it is sufficient to say that the fine fancy Pekoe teas ranged from 2*s.* 9*d.* to as high as 5*s.* and 6*s.* per lb. Good kinds of Young Hyson ranged from 2*s.* 2*d.* to 2*s.* 4*d.*: while

common kinds of tea were valued at from 1*s.* 4*d.* to 1*s.* 6*d.*

In offering a few remarks on tea in Coorg (this district, I may remind the reader, is contiguous to Munzerabad, and resembles that county in climate), I do not think I can do better than quote the experience of Mr. Fowler, a gentleman who has had ten years' experience in Coorg. And here I think it will be more satisfactory to allow Mr. Fowler to speak for himself. He says:—

"My experience is limited to experimental patches of small extent; and the opinion I have arrived at is that tea will grow very well in Coorg, under very adverse circumstances, both at high and low elevations, in the coldest and most elevated portions of the Surlabi Muthnad range of hills, and also in the warm villages of Yedanaknad at an elevation of two thousand eight hundred feet. In the former situation, where I experimented with three small patches of Assam tea, side by side with coffee, I found that the tea-plants of one year had outstripped three-year-old coffee. These tea-plants were planted in 1865, and the whole clearing abandoned, because it was plain that the coffee-trees would not pay on account of the cold, and the monsoon being too severe. On inspecting the place a few months ago" (he writes some time last year), "I found nearly all the coffee-trees dead, and nearly all the tea-trees alive. The tea-plants planted at an elevation of two thousand eight hundred feet in Yedanaknad are now very good, strong, sturdy plants, and superior to the coffee-trees planted at the same time in the same place a few years ago. I found the infusion of tea remarkably palatable, and, to my taste, superior to the Neilgherry growth. On the whole, I believe that if we could be certain of early

rains to induce a flush of young wood, the cultivation would pay. In dry seasons, however, as far as I can judge from my knowledge of the Coorg seasons for the last ten years, it will not pay."

Such, then, is the best evidence I am able to lay before the public, and the general conclusion as regards tea in Coorg (and the conclusion may be safely extended to the whole of the western frontier hills of Mysore) seems to be, that the plant can readily be grown, and that it produces good tea; but it seems that as yet there is no evidence to show whether the cultivation will or will not pay.

It is with great reluctance that I here find myself, in the course of these remarks on cotton, compelled to run full tilt against the men of Manchester; not that I have the slightest objection to run full tilt against them, or any one else, when necessary, but because I feel some compunction in aiding to snap the principal, or I may almost say the only tie that unites England and India. Manchester, nervous as to the safety of its American cotton market, has taken, for a good many years, an immense interest in India. It has brought pressure to bear on the Government here; the Government here has brought pressure to bear on Indian officials; and Indian officials, finding that they would be better known to the world as cotton-growers than by any other efforts for the improvement of India and the happiness and welfare of its people, have given themselves up to cotton with extraordinary fervour. Their anxiety, indeed, to please the men of Manchester was such, that they subsequently ran into the ridiculous error of passing in the Bombay Legislative Council an enactment which not only made cotton adulteration a penal offence, but ex-

tended the definition of adulteration to the mixing of any two sorts of cotton together. Thus, if a man mixed exotic and indigenous cotton together, or old and new cotton, or, in other words, the growth of different seasons, he would be liable to a fine of £10 for the first offence, and the enormity of a second offence was to be punished with imprisonment not exceeding six months, and either with or without a fine, at the discretion of the magistrate. As for the unfortunate farmer who might have sown a field with exotic and indigenous seed accidentally mixed, no one seems to have thought of him, and had the act ever come into operation, the unhappy ryot might have found himself one morning either ruined in purse or rotting in a gaol. To the remainder of the provisions of this act, which, of course, was summarily vetoed by the supreme Government, I have no space even to allude further; and it is sufficient to say that the Bombay officials fell down and laid at the feet of Manchester a tribute of some forty clauses. But Manchester, fortunately, and Liverpool too, saw very plainly that the act was a piece of absurdity from beginning to end, and that to let loose a flood of cotton inspectors would discourage rather than promote the growth of their favourite staple. Nor does it appear that the efforts of the Indian officials, even when in accordance with the view of Manchester, have done much good; and if they have done any at all, the game was certainly not worth the candle, and the Government had far better have spent the resources of the State on anything else than cotton farms and Cotton Departments. Since Government took up cotton in earnest, Indian cotton certainly has improved in quality and increased in quantity. This sounds conclusive, but it is merely

a case of *post hoc*, not one of *propter hoc;* and if any one doubts that, he has only to refer to the very able and interesting Report of Mr. Rivett Carnac. That gentleman has pointed out that it is absurd to suppose that the great results are due to the exertions of Government officers. "The improvement," he continues, "has certainly not been caused by the introduction of any foreign seed, nor has the cultivation of the plant suddenly undergone any great change." The causes were extremely apparent, and would have operated in exactly the same manner, and almost, if not quite, to the same extent, as if cotton had never been a matter of greater interest to the Government than rice or raggee. Omitting the minor and co-operating causes, it is plain that the extension of communications and the American war produced those effects which have come about in recent years. The extension of communications brought the cotton to market easily and cheaply, and the American war got the farmer out of the money-lender's books. The result of all this was, that the European purchaser and the Indian farmer came face to face, and transacted their business without any intervention on the part of the native dealers, through whom the adulterations were mainly carried out. The purchasers and producers soon came to an understanding, as purchasers and producers usually do, and the result was that Indian cotton was improved. "See what it is to have a Cotton Department and Government farms," said some; but, as Mr. Carnac points out, "the improvement is chiefly to be attributed to the fact that the trade has now been turned into a new channel, which is more smooth and pure than that in which it has so long flowed."

It has been pointed out, in another part of this book, that the natives of India have been frequently accused of an entire inability to understand what their best interests really are, and in official communications such remarks are commonly made when the Indians refuse to adopt any change that has been suggested to them. An instance of this was given from one of the Mysore Administration Reports, and I find it stated in the Report of the manager of the cotton farm of the province, dated 1853, that the natives are so low in the scale of human advancement that they "generally oppose the best schemes undertaken for their benefit." This notion seems to have been very successfully inculcated in England, and we accordingly find * that Mr. Cheetham, President of the Cotton Supply Association, once asked Sir John (since Lord) Lawrence whether the natives of India were capable of understanding self-interest. "Oh, decidedly!" replied Sir John, and no doubt with an inward smile. Now, some might feel inclined to laugh at Mr. Cheetham for putting such a question, but the laugh should be turned not on him so much as on the numerous individuals, and notably the missionaries, who have always painted the Indians as bound down by a slavish adherence to hereditary customs. It may seem superfluous to allude to this again, but when a breed of opinions is once started, it requires many contradictions to alter the bend.

I commenced by expressing some reluctance to saying anything that would diminish the interest taken in India by people in this country. But if this country has interests, not the less has India, and I ask the attention of the men of Manchester to what I am now about

* Vide *Journal of the East Indian Association*, Jan. 31st, 1870, p. 193.

to say. The objects of the people who are represented by Cotton Supply Associations are to turn India into a first-class cotton-growing country, to turn out the indigenous cotton, which cannot compete with American, and supply its place with an exotic plant that can. This, if successful, would result in an abundant supply of good and cheap cotton, and, in the event of our supplies from America being cut off, India would then make up for the deficiency. To bring about such a desirable result as this, the Hindoo tax-payers have been already made to pay largely, and it seems probable that they will have to pay a good deal more for experimental cotton farms and cotton official salaries. Now, supposing the exotic plant to be successfully introduced, and that all supplies from America were cut off, it is plain that India would reduce her grain produce to the lowest possible amount, and the general result would be that the Indians would have empty granaries and full purses. In most other countries this would not signify two straws, but if the reader will glance at the map of Asia he will see that India must always be in a position of great danger when any combination of circumstances results in her store of grain being reduced to a minimum. On the countries lying to the westward she cannot depend for a single sack of corn; and from Burmah, as has been pointed out in my second chapter, little can be expected, and for that little competition is already arising, and likely to increase. It must be considered, further, as I may again remind the reader, that, from a variety of circumstances, values that used to be stored in grain are now hoarded in cash and jewels, and that, in consequence of this, the country generally is living already far too much from field to mouth. Taking, then, all these circumstances into con-

sideration, it seems evident that to still further reduce the supplies of grain (a result which will inevitably ensue if the Indian officials are ever successful in carrying out the wishes of Manchester) would be an act of the grossest barbarity. These facts have been long apparent, and have frequently been urged; but Manchester still presses on, and in the long-run is bound to win, because its interests are represented in this country, while the interests of India are not. To expect that the people responsible for our Indian administration will ever shake off their cotton bonds would be to expect better bread than can be made of wheat, and things are bound to remain in their present groove until we are taught by another terrible lesson, not that famines are bad in themselves and inflict unlimited horrors, but that they do not pay.

Amidst the general neglect of the true interests of the people, it is gratifying to be able to point to the smallest signs of resistance to Manchester, and it is with thankfulness that I notice the boldness shown in the "Statement showing the Moral and Material Progress of India, 1868-69," where it is actually declared, with reference to exotic cotton, that "it would be unfair and impolitic to force upon the Indian ryot, whose bread depends upon his land, the adoption of a seed from which an adequate return is doubtful." This may not seem, indeed, a very great step, but, considering the circumstances, it is pretty well for a beginning, and gives hope of increasing boldness for the future; and, in consequence of that view, the experiments are to be conducted by Government, under the superintendence of the Cotton Commissioner. In spite, however, of all the efforts of Government, it is gratifying to find that the

American or New Orleans cotton, in many instances, is very difficult of acclimatisation, and that in many parts of the country the natives will not take to it at all. I am happy to state that this is particularly the case in Mysore, where the exotic species does not find favour with the natives, and it is equally gratifying to learn that last year's Report for the province shows a falling off in cotton production.

It must not be supposed, from the remarks previously made, that I do not look forward to a day when it would be advantageous to India to export a great deal more and a great deal better cotton than she does at present; but that day I consider should be very far distant, nor should its arrival be accelerated by us; nor do I consider, further, that any product which may displace grain should be stimulated into abnormal activity. When, however, irrigation-works are more universally spread over the country; when canals are cut, and rivers made navigable; and when an extended civilisation shall diffuse exact information, and so enable the people to judge more accurately than they can possibly do at present how much or how little grain it is advisable to grow and store for future use, then, and not till then, would any well-wisher of India, or friend of humanity at large, like to see India turned into an extensive cotton-growing country.

In this chapter I had intended to enter at some length into the production of silk in the province of Mysore, but the account given in the Administration Report of 1868-69 is so disheartening that I do not now think it worth while to do more than allude to the subject as briefly as possible.

The manufacture of silk in Mysore is an occupation

almost entirely confined to the Mahomedan population of the southerly and easterly portions of the province. This branch of industry is said to have been introduced by Sultan Tippoo, in order to afford employment to the large and needy communities of Mussulmans who had settled in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam. The breed of silkworms then introduced seems never to have been since renewed until within the last few years, when an enterprising Italian firm established itself about eight miles from Bangalore, and initiated measures for the introduction of a new species. This attempt met with fair success at first; but though, on two occasions, Japanese cocoons have been imported by the Mysore Government at a considerable expense, and distributed gratuitously through the silk-producing counties, subsequent efforts have failed either to acclimatise the foreign species, or to eradicate the peculiar disease from which the worms have greatly suffered for the last two years. The continuance of the disease has seriously affected this branch of industry, and threatens to extinguish it. In the Bangalore district, it may be mentioned, the out-turn of silk has fallen from 4,000 to 600 maunds (a maund is equal to 24lbs.). Under these circumstances, I think the reader will agree with me in thinking that to occupy further space, and to enter into all the details of a production which seems to entail such serious risks, would be a mere waste of time.

In the chapter on Coffee I have recommended planters to fill up corners, hedges, and all available spots with that valuable though slow-growing tree, the sandal-wood tree, which, notwithstanding its numerous uses, has been so strangely neglected. Since that recommendation was written I have received from the Com-

missioner of Mysore a valuable Memorandum on sandal-wood, so that I am now in a position to supply the latest information on the subject.

The sandal-wood tree (*Santalum album*) is a low, stunted-looking tree, from twelve to thirty feet in height, and is indigenous to the western portion of India. The tree is commonly found in scrub jungles, and even in open spots in some of the large deciduous forests. In the plain counties of Mysore it is mostly to be found in hedges and ditches, and on irrigation earthworks. The tree propagates itself by seed, and occasionally by suckers, which spring up from the long creeping roots wherever these become exposed to the action of the air; and these suckers, sometimes at a distance of fifteen yards from the parent plant, develop into good trees.

The plant seems to be easily raised from seeds; and in 1868 Mr. Ludlow (Assistant Conservator of Forests, Mysore) raised one hundred thousand plants from seed which had been kept in store several months. An idea previously prevailed that seeds, unless fresh from the tree, would not germinate. For some reason or other not given, Mr. Ludlow's plantation and nursery turned out to be a failure; but, as the tree is indigenous to the country, it is plain that the plants must have died from neglect. Mr. Ludlow's experience is that transplanted seedlings generally prove failures.

Seed should be collected in December and January, and dibbled in at a depth of about an inch below the surface. The best time for sowing is during the early rains in June. A dry, red soil, overlying a stratum of gravel or quartz, is most favourable to the tree, and trees grown in such soil arrive at maturity in twenty

years. In a white and strong soil, which produces a tree of stunted growth, the tree matures in sixteen years. In garden soil it is stated that the tree takes no less than forty, and in black soil, free from stones, thirty years to arrive at maturity; so that it would appear that the finer the soil, the longer does the tree take in arriving at its prime. The maturity of the tree can be judged by various signs. When the heart-wood is fully formed, the leaves of the tree are narrow, and of a dull green colour, often with a yellowish-red tinge. The small terminal branches are withered, and the bark is deeply wrinkled, and often largely covered with mosses; and if the tree is cut, the inner bark will be found to be of a reddish or yellow colour, that of a young tree being invariably white. Sandal-wood trees should be uprooted soon after maturity, otherwise decay rapidly sets in.

Sandal-wood trees in Mysore are a Government monopoly, and this is evidently the reason why the natives have never planted the trees in their gardens. Any trees that happen to be growing in coffee plantations are the property of the Government; and I recollect, a good many years ago, finding two of the trees in question in a plantation which was under my charge. The trees were in the way of a new road I wished to open, and I had to write to the officials to take possession of them.

When the rough sandal-wood is received into the Government stores, the sap-wood is carefully removed, and the heart-wood adzed twice, the first time roughly, and the second time more carefully. The chips thus obtained are called mixed chips and pure chips. The wood is then sawn into billets three feet in length (the

sawdust being carefully preserved), and classified. The average value per cwt. is £1 14*s.* 6*d.*

Sandal-wood is exceedingly hard and heavy; it is used for making boxes, card-cases, and other fancy articles. It is considered that the aroma of the wood is a preservative against insects. The wood is burnt as a perfume in houses. The Hindoos, Parsees, and Chinese use it for burning their dead; and the powder enters into a mixture used by the natives for marking their foreheads. It is supposed to possess sedative and cooling properties, and a drink, called "sandal sherbet," is also manufactured from the powder. Mixed with butter, it is applied to the head in cases of headache; and it is used externally for prickly heat and other cutaneous diseases, and is given internally in fevers and bilious affections.

A valuable oil is distilled from the sandal-wood, and principally from the chips and roots, which are, of course, carefully dug up after the tree is cut down. This oil is highly prized by the natives as a perfume, and is externally used as a remedy in itch, mumps, rheumatism, and asthma. In the town of Mysore, sandal-wood oil sells for one-quarter of its weight in silver.

The value of every part of this tree is so great, that it is really surprising to find that no measures have been taken to encourage its growth on the lands of private individuals; and it is obvious that, by keeping the tree entirely to themselves, the Government have much kept down what might have been a large source of revenue to the State. The adoption of the following measures would, it seems to me, prove equally satisfactory to the Government and the people:—

1. Leave to be given to plant sandal-wood trees in private lands, with an assurance that the trees are to be the absolute property of the planter.

2. The granting of lands for sandal-wood planting on the same conditions as for coffee,—a certain proportion of plants to be raised within five years from the issue of the grant.

3. The Government to reserve to itself the right of imposing an excise-tax, as in the case of coffee.

If these simple measures were taken, you would soon see sandal-wood trees in every garden along the western frontier of Mysore, just as you now see coffee.

The next product which, as far as I can learn, has every prospect of being successful in every point of view is the rhea or China grass. This plant yields a fibre for which there is an unlimited demand in England; but, owing to the want of suitable machinery for detaching the fibre from the stem, the development of this important product is for the present at a stand-still. So important does the Government consider this matter to be, that a reward of no less than £5,000 is offered to the individual who is most successful in inventing machinery for the purpose of separating the fibre. The rhea-plant has already been introduced into the Punjaub from Assam, and I can testify to its growing with a troublesome rapidity in one quarter of Mysore. It grows very well on the open grass land in Munzerabad, but it seems to grow a great deal better under shade, according to my manager's account; and in my coffee nursery, which is partially shaded, some stalks of it attained a height of no less than seven feet in a single year. These plants were, however, aided with water in the hot weather. The plant has a bulbous root,

resembling a kidney potato in shape, and, once planted, spreads over the ground with extraordinary rapidity. In appearance the plant is very like the common English nettle, with leaves of the same shape, but these have no sting. I have said that this plant grows with troublesome rapidity, and I may mention that my manager has since had to dig it out of the nursery in consequence of its spreading tendencies. The introduction of this plant into all the wet frontier districts of Mysore may be looked upon as of especial importance, and for the following reason: the climate, from its excessive wetness, is very unfavourable to any cultivation but that of rice, which is necessarily limited, and which could with difficulty be increased, in consequence of the broken nature of the country. The consequence of this is that there are considerable tracts of land, and of excellent soil, which at present are only used as grazing grounds, and a large portion of these tracts might certainly be devoted to the cultivation of rhea-grass with every advantage to the country. These observations must be equally true as regards Coorg, and all other districts similarly situated.

CHAPTER XIV.

COLONISATION.

If any one wants to know how one subject ramifies into almost every other, let him sit down to write on the colonisation of the uncultivated parts of India by emigrants from this country. I have devoted a moderately-sized chapter to the subject, and find it extremely difficult to know where to commence, and where to end. As for materials, if I have not got them by the ton, I have at least got them by the pound, and by what would make many thousands of ordinary pages; and, if any one doubts that, he or she has only to call for the Parliamentary Report, "Colonisation and Settlement (India)." Besides these voluminous piles of information, I have a paper written by Dr. A. Graham, Bombay army (retired), "On the Industrial Settlement of Europeans in the Hilly Climates of India." This paper was read at a meeting of the East India Association, January, 1870; and, as it contains the last information and the most recent experience of a gentleman who is much interested in the subject, it may be as well to glance, in the first instance, at what he has to say.

At the commencement of Dr. Graham's paper it is not easy to determine what it is that he desires should be done; but we arrive, towards the close of

it, at a distinct statement of his wishes. These are:—"That many belonging to our worthy, steady industrial classes may be encouraged by her Majesty's Government to go out and settle in these countries; that emigrant ships be granted, and allotments of land, laid out in some of the localities as townships, be assigned to them; that every facility and help be afforded them, on their arrival in these regions, to obtain immediate and suitable occupation; that they should have all the churches and schools, &c., essentially necessary for the moral improvement of a Christian community. During this apprenticeship period the Government ought to advance the money until the settlers can repay them, for which purpose they must enter into regular engagements."

Now, supposing that the Government did carry out this scheme, the question naturally arises as to how the settlers are to find the money to repay the Government. Where is it to come from, and how is it to be raised? This is not stated by Dr. Graham. The profits that could possibly be derived from agriculture are not even attempted to be shown; nor have we any evidence to prove that the work of European hands in tilling the soil could possibly be remunerative. I think we may very safely assert that, considering the value of grain and stock, Europeans, single-handed,—viz., depending upon themselves and their families,—could never derive anything but a bare subsistence from the soil. It may be urged that they could supplement their labour deficiencies by employing the natives as field-labourers, and that the superior skill of a European would enable him to pay high wages—wages high enough to tempt the people to work for him instead of for themselves.

Now, those who are inclined to argue in this way entirely forget the circumstances of the country, and the ease with which a mere pauper can set up as a farmer. It is curious to observe how often the last-named fact is so steadily overlooked. I recollect a good many years ago meeting one of the engineers of the Madras Irrigation Company, and, in the course of conversation, he observed that there would now be a capital opportunity for Europeans to take up the lands that would come under the new water supplies. I then asked him what quantity could be had. "Oh!" he said, "almost any quantity, down to one or two acres." Now, that represents exactly the whole difficulty of Europeans cultivating the ground directly as farmers, either with or without capital. The capitalist farmer would soon find his labourers leaking away, saving some money, borrowing a little more, buying a ninepenny plough, a couple of fifteen-shilling bullocks, and setting up for themselves on an acre or two of land. And the same causes that would ruin the capitalist farmer would effectually keep the labouring European agriculturist from rising much above the level of a day-labourer. As far as India is concerned, then, I think we may dismiss for ever the idea of Europeans cultivating the ground in that country either as capitalists or peasant farmers.

I must here, however, guard the reader against supposing that, because I think farming would not pay, I therefore think that under no circumstances would it pay to hold rice or other grain-growing lands. There are many parts of India where the area of rice land is extremely limited, and where the climate is not favourable to the cultivation of other grains. This is the case all along the western frontier of Mysore; and

in countries of that sort the possession of rice lands is always a convenience in many ways to the owners of coffee estates; and as the value of grain rises, and population increases, the rice fields will, no doubt, be one day of very considerable value. Having been long convinced of this, I have for many years past taken up all the rice lands I could either purchase or procure by grant from Government; but as to cultivating these lands directly, that is another thing altogether. I might be able to farm better than the majority of my native neighbours; but it must be remembered that even bad small farming often pays the proprietor better than good farming when conducted on a large scale. This may, at first sight, seem rather a curious assertion; but we need not go far for an instance in proof of my assertion, and Ireland furnishes us with an excellent example to the point. There we find that small farmers can afford to pay a higher rent than large ones. There are three reasons for this: one is, that a small farmer is contented with smaller profits; the second is, that the small man works himself and his family extremely hard; the third is that, supposing labourers to be called in, they, feeling that their master is little, if at all, raised above their own level, will, from a natural sympathy, do a great deal more for him than they would do for any one else. If we go a step higher, we find, of course, the same thing again prevailing; and a shrewd-headed Scotch farmer on a large scale said to a friend of mine not long ago, "The reason why a gentleman can seldom make farming pay is simply because the people will not do as much for him as they will readily do for me." If, then, the observations I have just made are of any value, they tend to prove that in India, supposing a man to

have grain or sugar-growing lands, he should never think of working them himself at all, unless on some extraordinary emergency. It might seem, at first sight, that this reasoning ought to apply to every sort of Indian cultivation; but it will be shown further on that there are circumstances connected with tea, coffee, cinchona, and cardamom planting which place them in a separate category altogether. But we must now return to Dr. Graham and his colonisation schemes.

The next branch of colonisation, or rather of emigration of Europeans to India, is the artisan branch; and Dr. Graham lays particular stress on the employment that could readily be found for masons, miners, colliers, ironworkers, and craftsmen of all kinds. But here, again, it is difficult to see who are to employ these people; nor does it seem that Dr. Graham has any particular plan for turning the immigrants to account, supposing that he did land them in India. Nor is there any reason to think that an experiment of that sort would be more successful now than the attempts made in former times. Some time previous to 1858 three attempts at missionary settlements were made in India. One of these was tried at Patna, under the auspices of the Rev. W. Start. This gentleman took out a number of artisans from Germany, and the object was to make the mission self-supporting, by employing the artisans on works of one kind or other. But a five-years' trial only resulted in an entire failure; many of the members of the mission were dispersed; some began to employ themselves as teachers, others betook themselves to trade, and a few went to Darjeeling and settled there, though in what capacity does not appear. A second settlement was formed on the Nerbudda, in Central India; and there, owing to

the unhealthiness of the climate, many members of the mission died, and the settlement was speedily broken up. A third settlement was formed at Chota Nagpore about the year 1843, and there, again, the scheme, as a self-supporting one, entirely failed. The farmers, it appears, could not farm, and found the climate quite against them, and the usual break-up took place, the people betaking themselves to employments of various kinds, and of the sort that Europeans are mainly fit for in India, viz., superintendents and managers of labour. It may be added here that Mr. Baker, some years before 1858, attempted to form a colony in Newera Ellia, the highest part of Ceylon; but he failed like the others. The facts previously given certainly do not seem cheerful for artisans in general, looking at them from the settler point of view. But there is another circumstance which, even looking at things from the most sanguine side, must, sooner or later, tell against all European hand-labour in India. That circumstance lies simply in the fact that the difference between one labourer and another is mainly a question of food. A European may at present be able to do twice or even three times as much as a poorly-fed Asiatic; but when the Asiatic takes to feeding himself up to the mark, it will be found that, considering the effects of climate and more expensive ways of living which are essential to an Englishman, competition must, sooner or later, drive him out of the market. We have very good proofs of what native labourers who are well fed can do; and in Ceylon I am informed that the coolies who are employed in loading ships in Colombo often earn two shillings a day, while the ordinary labour rates are about half that amount. It may be added here that, in comparing English with

Indian labour, people commonly compare an English navvy with a grain-fed coolie; but it seems to be generally ignored that the difference between a grain-fed Wiltshire labourer and a navvy is nearly as striking; and I am informed, on the best authority, that an ordinary navvy can earn exactly twice as much as your ordinary south-of-England field-labourer. Taking, then, every point into consideration, it seems pretty certain that artisan colonisation is quite as impracticable as agricultural colonisation; and, as there seem to be no other points in Dr. Graham's paper worthy of particular notice, we will now turn to the Report of the Colonisation Committee of the House of Commons.

After what has been already said, it is obviously superfluous to allude at any length to the proceedings of the Colonisation Committee, which sat more than twenty years ago. As regards the subject in general, it may, however, be as well to quote the following paragraph, which sums up the whole matter both fully and concisely:—

"The inducements to a settlement of the working-classes of the British Isles are not to be found in India. Those inducements are, high wages, the facility of obtaining land at an easy rate, the enjoyment of a constitution framed after that of the mother-country, a temperate climate, and the prospect of forming part of a community speaking one language, and conforming to our manners and customs. None of these things are to be found in India. The settlement of India took place at a period of remote antiquity. Its lands have long been appropriated; the wages of labour are low; its government is necessarily absolute; its climate is unfavourable to the permanent residence and increase of

the British race, and to labour in the open air; and its usages, language, and religions are strange and repulsive to the English labourer. For these reasons, and in accordance with the testimony laid before them, your committee are decidedly of opinion that India cannot compete with the boundless regions of America or Australia as a home for the labouring emigrant."

In a previous part of this chapter I stated that the idea of Englishmen farming in India might be dismissed for ever. To this remark, however, I think it not improbable that an exception may be made in favour of horse-breeding, which may be called a branch of farming, as it would necessarily involve a certain amount of agriculture, in order to raise hay and roots for the stock. I have no evidence before me to show whether this would or would not pay; but, taking into consideration the large and increasing demand for horses in India, and the fact that they are transported in large numbers from Australia and from the regions to the north of India, it would certainly seem that a horse-farm, if started in a carefully-selected situation, would be sure to pay. Curiously enough, I can find no reference to such a project in the Report of the Colonisation Committee; and in Dr. Graham's paper I can only find one allusion to horse-breeding. That occurs in Mr. Carnegy's Report on the Khasia Hills (quoted by Dr. G.) for 1868, where it is simply stated that "horse-breeding might be profitably carried on;" but, beyond these six words, there seems to be no other information on the subject.

From the facts hitherto adduced, the reader must have already concluded that, with perhaps one exception, the employment of Europeans in what we generally mean by

colonisation is entirely impracticable. Their true position, with reference to developing the resources of India, is that of superintendents of labour and managers of capital on a large scale, and in transactions or works where English courage, energy, and skill are essential to success. This is particularly the case with the opening out of cultivations in forest countries, where numerous difficulties have to be contended with in starting tea, coffee, cinchona, or cardamom planting. For these adventures into uncultivated wilds the European is alone fitted. There he is, doing, unheard of and little noticed, his appointed work—work which will only be appreciated when, perhaps twenty or thirty years hence, some Indian statician may think it worth while to measure the cultivated regions which English enterprise has torn out of the wildest tracts in India.

We have now done with colonisation; but, before closing the chapter, it may not be out of place to offer a few remarks on the work of the committee which inquired so long and wonderfully into Indian colonisation. I have no idea what the committee cost; but witnesses had to be paid, volumes of Blue Books were printed, and the labour of the members of the committee, it may be supposed, was also worth something. The general conclusions as to the practicability of colonisation might certainly have been arrived at deductively with equal accuracy, and a five-pound note, spent in postage-stamps, would have furnished ample corroborative evidence. But, if the reader interested in India will only look into the evidence given before the committee, I feel sure that he would come, as I have, to the conclusion that no greater benefit could be conferred on India than to hold a Colonisation Com-

mittee every ten years. The fact is that the Report contains an immense mass of opinion on almost every Indian subject, and from almost every point of view. Indigo-planters, merchants, bankers, civilians, soldiers, civilian-engineers, coffee-planters, missionaries, doctors, —all classes, in short, were examined; and as questions were put relating to every conceivable thing in India, —as to law, police, the internal administration of the country, and the character of the people,—a great quantity of valuable opinions and information on every point were elicited. I have, of course, no space here even to allude to more than one or two out of the numerous points treated of in the valuable Report ultimately agreed to by the committee.

The first of these points that it seems impossible to pass over is the general unsuitability of our legal system to the Indian population; the second alludes to the advisability of admitting the people to as large a share as possible in the local administration of their affairs. Both of these points have been already alluded to in this book; but it is impossible to revert to the subjects in question too often, and it is satisfactory to be able to quote the concurrent testimony of so many witnesses, taken from every walk of Indian life.

"It would seem," says the writer of the Report adopted, "that a simple, short, and summary system of law is especially suited to the genius of the East, in the minds of whose populations there appears to be interwoven the idea of an open and patriarchal system of procedure and of law. Yet we, following with inconsiderate prejudice the usages of our own country, have introduced among them a most artificial and complicated system. Mr. Marsham says: 'If there is one

thing more than others which the natives detest, it is the system of law which we have introduced into India. It is considered throughout India as the curse of the country. They hate our technical and complicated system; in short, they abhor it, in proportion as the law of India approximates to the law of England.'" Subsequently the Report points to the true system, which the natives thoroughly understand, and which is so exactly suited to them:—"It seems to your committee wise to encourage among them the use of the old jury system of arbitration, well known in India under the name of Punchayet, in which a jury of five settles the case by arbitration." The long and the short of all which means, that the sooner we let the natives settle their cases amongst themselves in their own way, through the means of the village elders and at the village gate, the better will it be for us and for the whole community.

On the second point—the advisability of accustoming the natives to the local administration of their affairs—the committee is equally explicit, and no one who has lived amongst the people can fail to see that they should at least be consulted, in some way or other, as to every matter on which they are competent to form an opinion. This would furnish the Government with accurate local information,—a thing it can hardly be said to have at all at present,—and would prevent money being squandered, as it often is, on thoroughly superfluous works. Here is an instance of my meaning. Running along the eastern border of Munzerabad is a river called the Hemavutty, which, further south, runs into the Cauvery. In the wet weather the Hemavutty is always full, and impassable except by boats; in the fine weather it, like many Indian rivers, consists of a great bed

of sand, with a tiny thread of a stream in the middle of it, which any child can ford. The engineers, who are always fond of anything that makes a show, long thirsted to bridge this river. In the old days, when Sir Mark Cubbon was king over all things, small and great, and when there was no such thing as a Public Works Department in Mysore, such a work was steadily resisted. The objections were simple. In the monsoons, when alone a bridge is necessary, there is no traffic, and in the fine weather, during which period all the trade of the country is commenced and ended, there is no water in the rivers, nor does there exist the smallest impediment to a cart crossing. But to an engineer a river is a river, and it must be bridged. Accordingly, an iron bridge was got out from England last year. I have no idea as to how much it cost by the time it was put up—probably £12,000, though whether it cost £10,000 or £12,000 does not in any way interfere with the argument. But put up it was, and opened with great ceremony. "See what a big bridge we've built!" said the engineers; and they glorified one another, and were much cheered by my brother planters. But the whole thing was a mere game, and the only result is, that Rama Sammy, instead of putting his shoulder to the wheel and shoving his cart through the sandy bed of the river, passes over the bridge, and pays a toll for doing so. Now, if the people of Mysore had been consulted in any way, that bridge would never have been built, and the money would have been saved for the opening out of new lines of roads, for education, for hospitals, or, better still, for irrigation works.

When I say that the people who pay the taxes in India ought to be consulted in every matter connected

with the administration of the country, I am only repeating what very able Indian administrators have said before me; and, since my return to England, I am more than ever convinced of the necessity of India being controlled, or at least largely influenced, by those people, whether dark or white, who have a permanent stake in the country. People expect great things to follow from what is called getting up an interest in India amongst the people of England; but, if the plain truth must be told, I am afraid there can be no doubt that the English influence that has been brought, and which alone can ever be brought, to bear on India, is simply a shop-keeper influence. If the influence of England brings in a stream of the almighty dollar, and if that influence happens to coincide with the true interests of India, well and good. The influence of England will be exercised to the advantage of both countries; but I see also very clearly that where the almighty dollar flows in, no one here, except perhaps a few enthusiasts, will care two straws as to what becomes of the true interests of India and its peoples, nor as to how their taxes are spent. I do not blame the people of England for this. There is a great deal of childish talk as to the way we neglect Indian interests in this country. And I say childish, because it is childish to expect people to trouble themselves about things far off, while there are things near which are either great or small. While the Serpentine is not filled up to its former level, and the building sites on the Thames embankment are far from being finally disposed of, it is a mere piece of impertinence to talk to people about India, unless you are prepared, first of all, to repeople the earth with a totally new order of the human animal.

I have said that you can get up here an interest in India of the shopkeeper kind, and this totally irrespective of the question as to whether India is to be benefited or injured thereby. Now, I think it just possible that, were I fishing for a Britisher with an Indian rod and line, I could make a shrewd guess at what sort of a fly he would rise to. I should try him, in the first instance, with cotton. That might fail; but there is yet another, and it is certain that he would readily rise to railways. As to the first, we have no right whatever to stimulate into abnormal activity, and at the expense of the tax-payers, any production of the kind; and we have already seen that to unduly encourage a product which necessarily tends to shorten the stores of grain is fraught with serious risks. As to railways, I have nothing to say against the completion of the lines of the most pressing importance; but I am only repeating the opinions of people very well able to judge when I say that if money cannot be found for both, irrigation should, in future, have a decided precedence over every other Indian work.

I am afraid I have got a long way from colonisation; but, after all, I have only done what the Parliamentary Committee did.

CHAPTER XV.

ON LEARNING NATIVE LANGUAGES BY EAR.

WHEN returning from India a good many years ago, I chanced to fall in with a Protestant missionary who had spent about six years in that country, and, when discussing matters in general connected with Eastern missions, we naturally glanced at the difficulties experienced by Englishmen in acquiring such a command of any one of the native languages as to be readily comprehensible to every sort and condition of men. I, of course, was very well acquainted with these difficulties, but the illustration given me by the missionary in question was certainly one of the most disheartening I ever heard. He told me that, after having acquired such a facility in the Tamil language that he could venture to preach at considerable length, he one day addressed a native audience, and, after being listened to for nearly an hour, was assured by one of the people that they were very glad to hear all that he said, but that, unfortunately, there was not a man amongst them who understood the English language. The missionary had simply acquired a collection of sounds which he thought to be Tamil, but which practically proved not to be Tamil, but something else altogether. And so prevalent is the delusion that you have learnt a language per-

fectly, though no one may understand you, that it is not at all uncommon for an Englishman who is misunderstood to declare that the Indians are so stupid that they do not know their mother-tongue. But, as a matter of fact, I can assure the reader that the language, as learnt by Europeans, is commonly as completely unintelligible to a European who has a familiar colloquial knowledge, acquired solely by ear, as it is to natives, who, whether they can read or not, of course learn their language through the medium of the same organ. And, to take an illustration nearer home, we shall find exactly the same sort of thing occurring in Europe every day. A lady of my acquaintance, before going for a tour in Spain, took lessons in the language from a Spanish governess. My friend then started on her tour, and, by way of testing and improving her knowledge of Spanish, addressed some observations to a Spaniard in the railway-carriage. The gentleman listened to her most politely, and, taking off his hat, said that he was extremely sorry, but that he had never learnt English. I am convinced that in India the lower classes have often no idea of what a missionary is about, and that they frequently have no comprehension of what he is even attempting to say. I recollect, on the Neilgherry Hills, once seeing a half-caste Scripture reader reading to a number of Canarese coolies. I could not help being struck with their working away so complacently, and seeming to be so profoundly indifferent to the sounds that issued from the mouth of the person who was addressing them. I therefore asked one of the coolies whether he had any idea of what this reading was all about. The man said that none of them knew, and resumed his work with a complete indiffer-

ence, which showed that the reading was received and considered as simply nothing at all.

A sufficient number of instances have now been given to illustrate the fact that neither Englishmen nor any one else can, as a rule, acquire either accent or intonation through the medium of the eye and memory, and as these are the media commonly used to learn a language, it naturally follows that an Englishman in India is commonly unintelligible to natives who have not accustomed themselves to his way of speaking, or, in other words, who have not learnt each Englishman's way of speaking a language. And though I should think this would not generally be the case with Hindustani, from its greater simplicity of construction, I am sure that it is the case with all the South Indian languages. These facts have, of course, been long ago recognised, but they have not been recognised so universally as they ought to have been; and the consequence is that the acquisition of a fair amount of any Dravidian language has ever been held to be a matter of such difficulty, that some unusual capability is generally assumed to exist when individuals are found to speak an Indian language with such fluency and facility as to be readily comprehended by a native who has for the first time been addressed by one of our countrymen. I am not, of course, aware whether similar difficulties are assumed in other districts, but I am quite aware that some such difficulties must have been assumed in Mysore, if I may judge by the number of individual planters who either speak no Canarese at all, or so little that conversation between them and the natives is alike distressing to both parties. It is, of course, needless to expatiate on the amount of evils and annoyances which naturally arise from this fatal impediment to intercourse

between natives and Europeans; and it will, therefore, be more to the purpose if I proceed at once to lay down such results as I have gathered, partly from my own experience, and partly from boiling down the labours of others. I have said others, but I should perhaps rather say of another individual, who seems, as far as I am able to judge, to have studied the mastery of languages with unusual care and ability. The gentleman I allude to was formerly in the civil service of Madras, and has devoted to his subject a book of no less than two hundred and sixty-two pages. As I have only learnt what I know of Indian languages by ear, I do not, of course, pretend to offer any opinion on that part of his work which treats of reading and writing; but his method as to acquiring a colloquial knowledge of language is so lucidly enforced and illustrated that I can confidently recommend travellers in any country to consult the work in question. The author, of course, pretends to having discovered nothing that has not been perfectly well known for centuries, but he is not the less entitled to the credit which every man deserves who goes through the tedious and painful task of finding fresh arguments and illustrations in support of what has been long known, but which has been little acted on. Having thus acknowledged my obligations to the gentleman whose work I shall freely quote from, I now proceed to lay before the reader some hints which will, I flatter myself, materially aid him should he ever have occasion to pick up languages by ear, or to learn them thoroughly from one end to the other.

The most common tendency that I have observed in the human animal is a tendency to make difficulties. Whether this is the result of laziness, or a want of imagination or

of comprehension, it is not worth while to inquire, and it is sufficient to say that in learning a language, as in anything else, this is one of the first drags to be got rid of. Now, with the view of obviating all difficulties and anticipating all excuses, I think it is of importance to lay down, in the first instance, that if a man who is thrown amongst natives fails to acquire their language within a reasonable time, he must lament, not his abilities, nor his memory, nor his want of ear, but his want of industry. If any man is disposed to question that assertion, let him ask himself how he learnt to speak his own language, and whether he did not find that he learnt it as quickly as boys who were of much greater ability than himself. If, of course, he maintains that he could only lisp at two, while other boys spoke with freedom at that age, I have no more to say; but if he could perceive no difference between himself and others of a similar age, then I assert that he will have no more difficulty in acquiring a colloquial knowledge of a language at the age of twenty than any one else. If, then, we start with assuming this to be, as a rule, irrefragably true, we shall have got over not merely a little, but almost the whole of our difficulties in acquiring a new language. Starting, then, from this firm and indispensable base, I shall now proceed to ask the reader more particularly how he learnt his own language when a child. At first sight many would be inclined to answer that they did not know, some would say that it must have been owing to being taught by their parents, while but few would be ready to reply that they learnt their language parrot-like and in the lump, and that the work of disintegration and detailed comprehension was the result of processes which were carried out long after the colloquial knowledge had become an established

fact. And yet, in truth, every one as a child does learn parrot-like and in the lump; in other words, he learns by imitating sounds and sentences, which are collections of sounds. Now, in uttering one of these collections of sounds, the child is only conscious of the general results of the sounds as a whole, and it is long before he is able to resolve his sentence into its component parts, or, in other words, to assign to each sound its separate meaning. Nor, in the first instance, is it necessary that he should do so. On the contrary, it is plain that to prematurely attempt this would only retard the initiative and natural process of learning a language, and we should find the child laboriously constructing sentences, instead of simply and easily imitating them in their entirety. And if, in addition to prematurely explaining the meaning and value of the words in a sentence, we were to teach a child a great number of separate words, we should then have provided him with a sufficient number of bricks to build up an immense quantity of bad, stiff, and unidiomatic English. But we do not furnish the child with bricks at the beginning, and, not being impeded with any lumber of the kind, he naturally progresses with such freedom that he learns his mother-tongue insensibly, and only ascertains the value of each separate brick at some subsequent period.

I trust I have now sufficiently indicated what every one should do in learning a new language, and that is, that he should learn it exactly by the same method he unconsciously pursued when learning his own. This seems such a very obvious and natural conclusion to come to, that I am really almost ashamed of writing on the subject at all. But perhaps it would be more to the point to say that I am almost ashamed to have occasion

to enforce propositions which are, after all, nothing but the veriest truisms. To carry out, however, my intentions of writing for all classes, it is necessary, as I have before observed, to enunciate, as clearly as possible, facts which have been known for thousands of years, but which are not widely enough known to be universally acted on. And that these facts which I am now repeating are not sufficiently known, I have had much and frequent occasion to know; for how many have I seen labouring at the oar, and how many more resigning for ever the hope of learning a language which might have been acquired without thought or exertion, if the proper method only had been pursued at the outset!

I have said that the first thing to be done in learning a language is not to make difficulties, and I trust now to be able to show that none really exist, and that the difficulties usually anticipated may be easily explained away. The first delusion to be got rid of is the common one of supposing that a great number of words are necessary to enable a man to carry on the ordinary business of life in any language. To judge by the number of words he is able to make use of in his own language, a man whose attention had never been directed to the subject would be inclined to number the necessary words for every-day life, not by the hundred, but by the thousand; and the difficulty of acquiring such a varied assemblage of sounds naturally strikes him with dismay. But if he will only believe it, the absolutely essential words number only from three to four hundred, and a very much smaller number may be made, by skilful manipulation, to go an immense way. And that this is the case may easily be proved by the amazing number

of combinations that can be made out of the briefest sentences. This is a part of the subject which Mr. Prendergast treats of at considerable length, and the annexed table, which I take from his work, shows the scale of progression:—

4 words giving		4 combinations of		2 words each.	
6	„	8	„	3	„
8	„	16	„	4	„
10	„	32	„	5	„
12	„	64	„	6	„
14	„	128	„	7	„
16	„	256	„	8	„
18	„	512	„	9	„
20	„	1,024	„	10	„
40	„	1,024,000	„	20	„

And at the end of his thirteenth chapter the reader will find a diagram which, by showing a fiftieth part of the evolutions to be made from two sentences of ten words, practically illustrates the astonishing variety of combinations which can be formed from only twenty words of a language.

Having thus gauged one part of the difficulties to be encountered in learning colloquially a new language, we will now advance to a consideration of what people commonly complain of as being the principal difficulty of all: I mean that want of memory which is so commonly lamented, but which is often mistaken for what is more commonly a want of attention. But let us assume that the reader's memory is not a very good one, and let us see what it is that he really requires from it. The demand will not, when he looks the matter fairly in the face, be found a very alarming or intellectual one, and is simply a demand for imitating sounds. This seems, and in reality is, a very simple and easy affair, and with the Indian languages at least presents few or none of the difficulties that Englishmen experience when

learning French. But, notwithstanding this, the perfect imitation of the accent, intonation, and manner of speaking an Indian language is very rarely acquired so perfectly that an Englishman could, even for a moment, pass himself off as a native. Now, the reason of this failure to catch a perfect or even tolerable imitation of the sounds of a language is solely to be traced to the fact that, in spite of all the experience and all the warnings of generations, man will persist in trying to learn sounds through the medium of the eye. When he cannot recall words without effort, he refers to a written paper; and, to make matters worse, he frequently pronounces a word from a knowledge of the pronunciation of the letters which compose it. Now, I need not waste time in proving that by either of these processes a man will probably acquire any sounds but the sounds he needs, and the consequence often is that he ends by speaking something that, to a native, does not sound like an Indian language at all.

A third difficulty that Englishmen find to be nearly as troublesome as the last mentioned is that of mastering the idiom of the Dravidian languages, which is so very different from the English mode of expression. For instance, instead of "Go to your dinner," they say, "Having eaten your dinner, come." Instead of "Go and see," they say, "Having looked, come." They omit the going; we omit the coming. Then, again, we say, "Have you a house?" They say, "Is there a house to you?" For our "Do you understand?" they say, "Is it known to you?" For our expression, "I want some fruit," they say, "Some fruit must be to me." For "I don't like that," they say, "That is not agreeable to me." "Bring dinner" is expressed

by "Having taken dinner, come;" and "Take away that" is, in the Dravidian tongue, "Having taken that, go." Instead of "Has the horse-keeper come?" they say, "The horse-keeper, has he come?" But I need not trouble the reader with more instances of this variety of idiom and inversion of expression, as enough has now been said to show that to the difficulties of accent and intonation we have the difficulties of idiom as well. And here the reader will certainly come to the conclusion that his difficulties are neither small nor few, and that, therefore, it will be all the more necessary to sit down seriously to work in order to at once catch the sounds and comprehend the construction of the languages. And it is just by this joint attempt that the most deplorable confusion arises, and the painful process of *vivâ voce* translations from English to Dravidian commences. But, as will be shown more clearly further on, this joint process is at once unnecessary and harmful; and this difficulty of idiom and of grammar can, without even a consciousness of the process, be gradually and completely overcome while learning by rote the combinations of sounds which make up those short sentences by means of which every man learns his own language.

We have now glanced at the three difficulties which usually haunt beginners—the exaggeration of the difficulties to be overcome, the assumption that considerable powers of memory are requisite, and the difficulties of varied idiom and inverted verbal arrangement. It is now time that I should proceed to something more positive, and indicate, as precisely as possible, the exact steps that every one should take who wishes to speak a language with ease and accuracy.

The first thing to be done by a learner is to gauge the capacity of his memory for sounds, for of all dangers the most important to guard against is that of attempting too much. As has been shown, the greater the number of words that can be accurately remembered and fluently reproduced, the greater will be the progress, as more evolutions can be constructed from moderately long sentences than from very short ones. But in attempting over-long sentences you endanger the accuracy of intonation, and I therefore think that sentences should not exceed, as a rule, more than from four to five words. Sentences of that length can readily be imitated by people almost at any age, and will be found extremely easy to any one below thirty. Having settled, then, the length of the sentences, it is, of course, of the greatest importance to select the sentences that will have to be most frequently used.* It seems to me that we cannot do better than give the preference at once to sentences regarding motion, which in so many occupations are constantly recurring. "Where are you going?" "Where have you come from?" "What are you going to do?" "What work have you done?" "Go and eat your dinner." These are the kinds of sentences that should be first acquired. The next best are sets of interrogative sentences with reference to the pursuits of the natives, and which can be asked of any number of individuals in succession. Supposing that you are living in an agricultural population, you should commence with, "How many cattle have you got?" "Where is your house?" "How long ago was it built?" "Are you married?" "How many children have you got?" "Have you

* Servants soon pick up a foreign language, because they are confined to a certain limited range of conversation.

had a good crop this year?" This class of questions is more particularly useful because, by asking them of a number of individuals in succession, you will then be able to test the accuracy of your pronunciation by the fact of the native you speak to understanding or misunderstanding what is said. If the questions are asked again and again of the same person, he will become used to your bad pronunciation, and, partly from laziness, will probably not correct you; and, in short, he will learn your pronunciation and language sooner than you will learn his. It is, therefore, of particular importance to try your experiments upon the greatest possible number of individuals; and it is again recommended that you should always commence with those subjects which principally concern the classes of persons you are addressing. Another point to be particularly borne in mind is, that the learner should always take the lead in a conversation, and invariably by questions, because in this he will obtain a number of rudimentary answers, beyond which it is not, at first, expedient that he should go. When he allows the native he is addressing to take the lead, and make observations, of which, of course, the learner can only struggle to comprehend an infinitesimal portion, complications will arise, and the necessity of merely guessing vaguely at meanings be commenced. This is itself, of course, an evil, and leads the learner into efforts to cover more ground all at once than he should ever attempt as a beginner. I therefore repeat the caution that the learner must never listen and assent and struggle to comprehend, but should always take the initiative with such sentences as require the briefest and simplest answers.

Another danger to be avoided is the fallacy that you

are any the better for learning a number of nouns by rote, in order to have a number of bricks ready to build into sentences. In the first place, your pronunciation of them, as remembered by you, is sure to be wrong; and, in the next place, you will be sure to be translating your English into Dravidian, and in that way you will be sure to put the words in wrong places, and thus be completely unintelligible to your hearers and a plague to yourself. And the evil of this word-learning system does not stop there. An immense number of words are pronounced very differently in sentences from what they are taken singly, so that your pronunciation of a word may be correct, and yet, taken in conjunction with other words, may be quite the reverse. The way to learn nouns is simply to point to this or that, and ask, "What do you call this?" or, "What is the name of that?" You will then not learn more nouns than are required for immediate use, and you will have the pronunciation as it were fresh from the mint. And, as regards pronunciation, I may here observe, in passing, that the notion that it is necessary to have what is called a musical ear is entirely erroneous. One of the best Indian linguists I know has not a note of music in his composition, but he has qualities which are of far more consequence. He is fond of talking, and has an unbounded spirit of curiosity. But what seems to me to be of more importance than pronunciation is intonation, the lowering or raising the voice when pronouncing particular syllables of a word, and even the intonation of particular exclamations, where the variation of tone is more easily observable. For instance, our exclamation of "Oh! oh!" is intoned very differently from theirs, though it would be impossible to convey the difference

on paper. The learner should therefore pay particular attention to this, as his power of making himself readily understood so much depends upon it.

Having thus laid down the general line to be adopted and the difficulties to be avoided, I shall now proceed to point out the process of acquiring these rudiments of language. I assume, of course, that the learner has a native about him who understands English, and that, leaving letters and grammar entirely on one side, the learner has decided on learning by rote, as he learnt his own language when a child. He must resolutely, then, cut off all means of refreshing his memory through the eye, and when he has forgotten a sound, or a number of sounds, he must learn them again directly from his teacher. The moment he has learned a few sentences he should bring them into use; and if he can manage to progress at the rate of four new words a day, he will then in three months have a sufficient command of language for all the ordinary purposes of life. And here, as regards memory for sounds, it is important to bear in mind that a constant succession of trifling efforts carried on at intervals from morning till night is of infinitely greater value than long-continued efforts which are suddenly broken off. The learner should be in the position Sir Walter Scott was in when he was writing his novels. He said that his work was, if I recollect rightly, neither in his head nor out of his head the whole day long; and, in learning a language, the train should never be broken except by sleep. An excellent plan, if your pursuits are open-air ones, is to have a native lad always about with you, to whom you can turn and speak at any moment you feel inclined; and the younger he is the better, as his tones will

always be clearer than those of a man, and are therefore more easily imitated.

As a part of this natural system, it seems almost unnecessary to observe that the learner is, at first, never to trouble himself as to the meaning of each word in a sentence, as this will only impede his easy acquisition of the idiom, which, as I have shown before, is so different from ours. His attention is to be solely directed to the acquisition of certain collections of sounds which express certain wants or demand particular information. He is to imitate these collections of sounds, and not to construct them from individual sounds; and, above all, he is to learn no sounds, or collection of sounds, that are not to be brought into instant use. I have been particularly struck with the necessity of enforcing the last part of my directions, in consequence of observing the silly collections of words that are invariably strung together at the commencement of books which are meant to aid a man in learning a foreign language. They resemble nothing so much as a quantity of disjointed fragments shot down indiscriminately, some parts of which may be of value, but the majority of which are only impediments and loads to weight and encumber the memory, and to impose upon it the most distasteful tasks imaginable; so that the more words, the more grammar, and the greater number of tenses you know, the worse you will be off, and the greater the difficulty you will have; and the fewer words you know, the greater will be your readiness and skill of manipulation. If the learner, then, will only fix his attention steadily and industriously on the essentials, and leave the unessential portions to be built in afterwards and by degrees, he may rely on progressing with ease and certainty to a

command of language which will be valuable in any line of life, and which, I can answer for it, will, in India at least, contribute more to the success of his undertakings than anything I could mention.

To show the reader how little is really required to start with, I may mention that all that is necessary in the verb line at first is a present tense, which does for the future when used as "I am going away to-morrow," and a past tense. These two tenses and the past participle in common use, which is so frequently brought in, will enable any one to dispense with any inquiry into further tenses or parts of verbs till he has made considerable progress in the language. Nor, as to the tenses in question, should a man learn them off, and keep stringing off—I am going—thou art going—he is going—she is going—it is going. The parts of the tense should be learnt gradually where each part comes in for use in a sentence, otherwise the learner will be violating one of the rules that I assume should never be one moment departed from, namely, acquiring superfluous matter; for a complete command of all the parts of a tense is not needed in those initiatory sentences. People often flatter themselves that learning off a number of the parts of a verb gives them the power of using them in sentences, but on experiment this will be found to be an entire delusion.

In bringing this important subject to a close, I do not think that I can do better than quote the exact words of Mr. Prendergast, with the view of illustrating still more precisely the method that should so persistently be pursued. "A beginner," says Mr. Prendergast, "cannot arrange words in combination to which he is practically a stranger; but if he learns by rote a comprehensive set of idiomatic sentences, and naturalises all the words by

diligent practice, restricted rigorously to that selection, he is in actual possession of all the constructions, although he has never seen or heard of a syntax.

"The course of nature combines analysis and synthesis with a practical knowledge of all construction, and with a mere sufficiency instead of a superabundance of words. Idiomatic sentences become fixtures in the memory, and the analysis of them is so simple that it is easily performed even by young children. The latter have not, and they do not require, that critical power which educated men display in their investigations into the component parts of a new language, and the peculiar constructions thereof. The process is altogether different, and the soundness of the principle is obvious. For sentences learned by rote gradually dissolve themselves and become decomposed when the words are severally used in other combinations in the hearing of the child.

"Thus, if he has learnt the following five syllables, 'Give me some of that,' which to him are but one word or utterance, indivisible in the first instance, his attention is attracted by any portions of it which he may chance to hear afterwards applied in a different meaning; as, 'Give me that;' 'I want some of that,' &c. He observes those variations; and, by degrees, he comprehends them and employs them himself, not in supersession of the original sentence, but in addition to it. In this manner the analysis becomes, for all practical purposes, complete; and the meaning of the whole sentence becomes more and more clearly understood. He cannot assign a score of meanings to the preposition 'of,' but his ignorance is not inexcusable, and it is no bar to his progress.

"Such is the analysis of nature, resulting from a series of observations and inferences drawn by infants

from the known to the unknown—from the whole to its parts."

In conclusion, I cannot but lament my want of ability to do justice to this important subject, to illustrate it more effectually, and impress it more forcibly on the mind of the intending settler who really wishes to speak the language like a native. In fact, this chapter rather indicates than supplies a want. Nor can I conceal from the reader that, in my opinion, Mr. Prendergast's book, *however valuable it may be, is not expressed in sufficiently* simple terms; nor is it supplied with a sufficiency of easy illustrations to make it of extensive use to all classes of our countrymen. What is really required is a sort of progressive manual which shall at once convey to the learner the proper method of setting to work, and shall provide him with a number of short sentences of the most useful description, in order that the idiomatic difficulties of the language may be most easily overcome. I see no reason why manuals of this sort should not be published in each Dravidian or North Indian tongue, so that any one who could read should have a guide to direct his efforts. And should this chapter happen to be read by any one who is competent to supply the wants I have indicated, I feel confident that he could do nothing better for both Indians and Englishmen than supply those facilities for communication, the lack of which keeps the natives and our countrymen so far asunder.

CHAPTER XVI.

NATIVE LABOURERS.

It is a common observation in England that we, as a rule, know little or nothing of the lower classes. And if that is the case here, my reader will readily understand that literally nothing is known of the corresponding classes in India. For who has ever inquired as to the capabilities of a coolie? Who has ever given himself a chance of knowing anything about those humble Pariahs? Who has ever tried to ascertain whether a coolie ever forms an opinion about anything? Who has ever thought of him but as one of the stupidest animals on the face of the earth—ever thought of him but as a being made up of dull ignorance, animal selfishness, and low suspicion? But these last-named distinguishing qualities have been attributed to labourers much nearer home than the reader can have any idea of; and it was with reference to the field-labourers of the South and West of England that, some years ago, a contributor to the *Saturday Review* said:—"Even now, in conversation with them, one too often finds that it is not a man with whom one is talking, but a being made up of dull ignorance, animal selfishness, and low suspicion." Now, had the writer of the article alluded to been thrown into the same situation as regards these labourers that I have

been as regards my plantation coolies—had interest and inclination induced him to gain their confidence and study their way of thinking—had these or any other motives induced him to draw them out and give them a fair trial, I feel pretty sure that he would have pronounced a very different verdict. He would have found amongst them, to leaven the lump, a certain proportion of observation, tact, energy, and honesty of purpose. He would have found these qualities in a low degree truly, and on a scale so limited that he would at first almost doubt of their existence; but, after a more intimate acquaintance, he would plainly have discovered a much greater amount of development amongst these stolid-looking lumps than he could possibly have imagined from their general appearance. It is curious, indeed, to observe how differently people judge the actions and estimate the motives of a rude, uneducated, untried population. And it often happens, I believe, that any two educated men will draw widely diverse inferences as to the motives for a certain course of action being pursued by an individual whose whole life has been different from theirs. The writer of the *Saturday Review* article alluded to furnishes me with a good illustration to the point, for he tells us that he once heard an intelligent country magistrate speak thus:—"When I speak to my men afield, I take care to speak distinctly, giving them notice that what I say will be said once only, but that any neglect in answering a question or in obeying a direction will be severely visited. If I did not act in this way, they would want the plainest question or order repeated once at least, if not twice; not that they would not have heard me very well the first time, but from an instinctive suspicious-

ness, and a wish to find out what I was driving at." Now, I well recollect the first experience I had of the tendency complained of. One day, when I was engaged in making my first experiment on an Indian forest, I ordered a coolie who had just cut down a tree to fell the one next to it. To my astonishment he neither moved hand nor foot, and even muttered some disinclination to do it. Most Englishmen would have repeated the order in a way that would have insured immediate obedience; but, happening to be in high good-humour, I merely said, "Why don't you do what I tell you, stupid?" "Oh," said he, readily disburdening his mind, "if I do, there will be too much shade taken off." (We leave forest trees here and there to shade the coffee.) I told him to go on and cut it down nevertheless, and he at once cheerfully set to work, saying, "Of course, if you order it, it shall be so." And coolies too, I find, generally wish to find out what I am driving at—not, as the country magistrate alluded to supposed as regards his labourers, from "instinctive suspiciousness," but from simple curiosity. In other words, they want clearly to see the end and aim of their master's orders before they commence to execute them. And when this inclination is properly encouraged, it leads to your workpeople always wishing to comprehend and form an opinion as to the result desired from their labour; and I need hardly say that where people are interested in their work, it has the effect of making them at once more willing and more intelligent. In fact, we always found, as a matter of practice, that the coolies never took kindly to any new kind of work till they were satisfied that there was some sense in it. I must say I was not a little astonished to hear my late manager,

who was a farmer in Scotland before he entered my employ, observe that coolies are not the mere working machines he has generally found labourers to be at home, and that a coolie knows far more about the working of a coffee estate than an English labourer knows about the farming operations he is engaged in carrying out. The same manager alluded to also told me that he found it quite as easy, if not easier, to teach a coolie lad the use of a new implement, or to teach him to do anything that he has never done before, as it is to teach boys and girls on a Scotch farm to do anything that they have not been accustomed to, and this even with simple work such as the singling of turnips. He was also of opinion that there are a greater proportion of good workmen than there are in our border counties, and that, as compared with border agricultural labourers, the coolies seem quite as intelligent as regards all matters that come within their observation. But this intelligence of the Indian, and his quickness of observation, have been long ago noticed; and I find that Colebrooke, in his "Husbandry of Bengal" (written nearly fifty years ago, I think), says:—"The readiness with which he can turn from his usual occupation to another branch of the same art, or to a new profession, is characteristic of the Indian, and the success of his earliest efforts in a novel employment is daily remarked with surprise."

And here I may observe that if you want to teach natives anything new, you must go to work in a much quieter way than Englishmen commonly do. You must not frighten your coolie lad; you must be quiet in your tone and manner, and you must have a perfect command of his language. Just imagine a powerful, energetic

European, who knows no language but his own, or who has only picked up a few unintelligible sounds which he imagines to be the vernacular of the district—just imagine him trying to teach a coolie anything that he has never done before, such as pruning, for instance. The coolie goes to work, having perhaps tried his best to understand what was wanted. His master attends to the next man's work for a moment, when, on turning round to see how the new hand is getting on, he finds some monstrous mistake made. Then comes your tone of thunder, and a rush, accompanied perhaps by a wave of the arm, and the coolie is frightened out of his wits, and is then and there converted into the stupidest and most helpless being in the world. And I may also add that you must not disgust and dishearten your coolies by abusing them on slight occasions, and must never allow your native overseers to do so either. I shall never forget the hopeless tone of despair with which I heard a coolie say to his master—"It's all the same what we do. We are either thieves or ——," making use of an unmentionable term. I may here observe, however, that the value of abusive terms depends, as regards many of them, on your tone and manner at the time. I recollect once finding fault with a man for abusing another (the abuse was not intended for my ears, being carried on at some distance off), but a bystander observed—"It's no matter, he is not abusing in an angry tone;" or, as we should say, with *malice prepense*. Some abusive terms have lost their literal meaning entirely, and are used almost exclusively in a friendly manner. For instance, if I am in a particularly good humour with my coolies, I often make use of a term which infers that their mothers have not been regularly

married. In the time of Cervantes, and much later too, the term alluded to was often used in the same friendly sense, and was not meant to convey the slightest reflection on the parentage of the individual addressed. I would not, however, recommend any young settler to make use of equivocal terms till he is quite at home in the language.

I shall now endeavour to lay down a few general rules which are the result of a long experience, and which, I flatter myself, will be of use to any one who has to undertake the management of native labourers.

1. As to your general conduct in the treatment of coolies, "be not all gall, or they will spit thee out, nor all sugar, or they will eat thee up."

2. Neither believe, nor, what is of quite as much importance, disbelieve anything you hear until you have some independent evidence as to its truth or falsehood.

3. Be patient, and show all willingness to satisfy every man that his account has been correctly settled.

4. Be careful to discriminate between your people—between the good and the bad, the idle and industrious —and treat them accordingly.

5. Resolve never to go into a court with your people.

A native officer once said that in governing sepoys you must hold the whip in one hand, and the sweetmeats in the other; and in the management of any establishment of natives the same rule applies. But the whip must be one with the tongue, or an immediate discharge, and the sweetmeats a kindly tone and a kindly manner, with a holiday once or twice a year to some feast in the neighbourhood, and perhaps an occasional treat at Christmas. But to convey any very exact idea of the proportion of gall to sugar that should be

evinced in your general manner is by no means easy. I may say, however, that the sugar ought to be in about the same proportion as the plums in a plain pudding. But, while throwing in a plum at intervals, you should infuse into your general bearing a spice of the gruff, gritty, and determined, don't-venture-to-trifle-with-me sort of tone. Although, however, showing a full determination to be implicitly obeyed, and to have his work well done, the planter should not go out of his way to look for faults. He will find them running up against him in sufficient abundance. To trifling faults especially a man should rather shut his eyes than keep them very wide open. What is called looking for faults shows a sort of malice prepense, which the natives are not slow in discovering, and making use of to your disadvantage. I have said that a planter should see that he is implicitly obeyed, and that his work is well done; and, besides these two points, I should have added that he should get as much work out of his coolies as possible. It is a great mistake to suppose that coolies like a man any the better for taking little notice of how much they do. As my late manager very soon discovered, they like having the work taken out of them. What they cannot bear is not having their work noticed at all. By far the most experienced planter in our district said that my estate was always the most cheaply-worked one in Munzerabad, and during the life of my late manager I am quite certain that it was; and yet no man was ever more popular with his people than the manager in question. In fact, by a judicious system of task-work, by his skill in the management of labour, and by the energy and industry he displayed, he improved my permanent estate hands so much, that many

of the imported labourers, after working for a few days, often left the estate, leaving only the most efficient workmen behind them.

Rule No. 2, as to neither believing nor disbelieving anything you hear unless it is confirmed by independent evidence, may be considered to be a very good one; and though, of course, occasional exceptions may occur, it should be rigidly carried out where your informant can be *suspected of an interested motive. To make matters* abundantly plain, if what you hear is confirmed by circumstances, you may act, of course; and if you hear several people agree in the main points of a story who could have had no communication with one another, or where there is no reason to suspect collusion, you may then act upon their testimony, though even then with due caution long pronounced, as we say in Scotland. But, if possible, it is always better to appear to discover things for yourself. For instance, Rama will tell you privately that he saw Bira's cattle in the plantation yesterday, and that they are often to be seen at some particular point of the estate. In such a case as that it is better to say nothing, but to take the first opportunity of riding round by the place indicated, and ascertain the truth of the statement. And this rule of discovering things as it were entirely unaided is one of particular importance, for a native has not the slightest scruple in informing against a man who is his enemy, as long as the fact of his having done so is not divulged. When it is once known that you will not act in such a way as to disclose your informant, you will then hear of everything that goes on, and obtain all sorts of odds and ends of intelligence which are often highly useful. The fact of your being well informed as to minute par-

ticulars will act as a preventive to rascality, and lessen the chance of your being circumvented in any way, just as the fact of your being always well armed lessens, in India at least, the chance of your being robbed.

And this rule, too, of neither believing nor disbelieving, will be found particularly useful in the settlement of the numerous disputes that are so often apt to occur between the coolies and native overseers, as well as amongst the coolies themselves. *In such cases of dis*pute it is always better, where there is a doubt, to make no decision at all in favour of either side, but to lay down a distinct rule for the future, which will prevent the recurrence of the cause of dispute. The careful settlement of differences between coolies and those over them requires the greatest tact, and a young planter should be especially careful not to take too readily the part of the coolies, as a tendency to doing so encourages them to find causes of dispute with any overseer to whom they may have taken a dislike.

The third rule, as to the advisability of always satisfying a labourer that his account has been correctly settled, is of great importance, and one that is frequently neglected. I would therefore particularly press upon managers of labour to encourage rather than to repress inquiry, and to show a perfect willingness to give full explanation to any one who has even a doubt as to the accuracy of his account. In the keeping of, say, four hundred accounts it is very difficult, or almost impossible, to prevent occasional errors; and even where there are none, it is not to be wondered at that new hands, or stupid ones, should often feel doubts as to whether they have not received less than they ought to. And this not understanding an account occasionally is, after

all, not very surprising. A man's pay will amount for the month to, say, twelve shillings; then there is so much to be deducted for advance; so much, perhaps, for grain supplied from the estate granary; and perhaps some other items as well. Supposing that a coolie is dissatisfied with his account, and that there is no dispute as to the number of days worked, lay down the whole sum before him. Then ask him how much advance he has had, and deduct that, and so on with the remaining items. In this way the stupidest coolie will readily be convinced, and an immense amount of talking saved. I always made it a rule, even if it cost half an hour's time, never to let a man go away unsatisfied. And this encouragement to inquiry has not only an excellent effect, but is the sure way to establishing such an amount of confidence that an account will be seldom disputed.

And here I may observe that, in the case of imported labourers especially, the planter should never delay the settlement of an account, with the view of detaining the labourers on the estate, and so, if he is short-handed, getting through some urgent work. It is a short-sighted policy, can only be done once, and has a tendency to keep labour away. I once asked an open-country coolie, who some years previously had been working on my estate, where he had been to, and why he had returned to it. He mentioned an estate in the next district, where the pay was somewhat higher than with us, and added, "I and a good many others left it because the master would delay paying us, thinking that if we worked on for part of another month, we would probably remain for the whole of it. Here," he continued, "we can get our pay whenever we want it, and be off to our

villages." This may seem a very trifling matter; but it must be remembered that it is just attention to or neglect of a number of such trifles that constitutes the difference between good and bad management, between a popular and unpopular estate. And here I may observe, in passing, that a good deal may be learnt of what coolies like and dislike by occasionally chatting with individuals who have tried several districts. If you do not learn much, you will at least be often amused with their way of expressing what they have to say. Even a coolie has some of the Asiatic power of illustration. "Well, Timmar, and how is the coffee in the district you last worked in?" "Oh, it's very good for the first two or three crops, and after that the plants get fever," was the answer. And the provoking scoundrel, as he turned away, said to his brother coolies, in a tone clearly calculated to reach my ears, "Here the plants thrive well enough, but they only give a good crop once in three years." On one occasion a native overseer of mine was once finding fault with rather an elderly coolie for some moral delinquency, and said that he wondered at so old a man being so ill conducted. The answer was ready, and it was this, "Though the tamarind-tree be old, the fruit is still bitter." And I need hardly say that dispensing an observation and asking a question, with an occasional joke, is good plantation policy. The people are pleased at being noticed, instead of being treated, as they commonly are, like the dirt beneath one's feet. And then it creates a better understanding, and I may even say a kindlier feeling, between master and servant. I am afraid that many of my planter friends will read this last sentence with a smile; but I shall not mind that. The time will

come when the truth of these remarks will be unquestioned, and when coolies will be generally treated in the way I recommend they should be.

Rule 4, as to being careful to discriminate between your people, and treating them accordingly, is one that is hardly ever attended to as it ought to be; and on many estates the coolies are all held to be upon one dead level. The generality of employers usually consider a coolie merely in the light of a pair of hands, and make no difference whatever in speaking to or punishing one labourer more than another. This is a great mistake, and a planter should make himself acquainted with the character of every permanent estate coolie, and treat him accordingly. Regular attendance especially should invariably be taken notice of; and any coolie who has worked, say, for eighteen months or two years, without missing, except when sick or when special leave has been obtained, should be placed in a superior class, and paid a shilling a month more than the others. This is a thing seldom or hardly ever done; but I have always done so, and found that it had an excellent effect; and, besides, I am convinced that doing so is no money loss at all. These regular attenders are usually more intelligent than the others, and far more painstaking; they are, therefore, well worth their extra hire, and are, besides, extremely useful in teaching new hands to prune. And when any one of this superior class has done anything wrong, he should be found fault with in an entirely different tone from the idle and irregular attenders. Discrimination is also required in the cases of labourers of the better classes, as farmers and others, and more especially those of a hill district. Many of these people, who live by cultivation, are very poor, and

are ready enough to work on any estate where they are well treated; and even those in more comfortable circumstances have no objection to send some of the members of their families to work for a month or so in the picking season. And excellent, regular workmen these men of the better classes generally are; but they will not stand being spoken to by native overseers as coolies generally are; nor, in fact, will they stand anything like a rough tone from any one. As this sort of labour is always local, it is extremely valuable, and should be taken care of accordingly. The labourers alluded to are, besides, very intelligent, and from them you may occasionally select excellent overseers; in fact, the best overseers I have ever had have been from this class. To show the advantage of management on this head, I may mention that the better class of labourers often prefer going two or three miles to work on a certain estate to working on one close to their own door. On some estates you will not see a man of the better classes; on others you will see a very considerable proportion.

As to Rule 5, in which the planter is recommended never to go into a court with his people, if he will only resolve never to go into a court, he will seldom have occasion to do so. Almost the only cause for which a planter has to go into a court at all is on account of advances given to workpeople who prefer to remain at home, or who never had any intention of working at all. Now, I have noticed, in my chapter on Coffee, that planters are often extremely careless as to whom they give advances, and console themselves with the reflection that if the people do not turn up, the law will punish them. But this will practically be found to be but a poor consola-

tion, and entirely ineffectual. The remedy is to exercise great care in giving advances; and if you act with due caution, I am persuaded you need not be put either to trouble or more than a very trifling loss on this head. I have given advances, both large and small, for the last fifteen years, and have met with only a most trifling loss by so doing, and a great deal of that loss was caused by deaths. The system generally is a great nuisance, but we cannot abolish it. So thoroughly naturalised, indeed, is it, that the English word "advance" is used by natives of all classes, who have no idea that it is not a good old Canarese word. On some estates, however, the advance system is an advantage with local or localised coolies. You may lend them money to defray their marriage expenses, and so fix them on the property to a very considerable extent. And here I would by no means recommend the advancing of such sums as coolies can have little or no chance of ever paying off. From nine to twelve months' pay is the fullest extent to which I would be induced to go. This advance system to local coolies has always been carried out on my estate, and with great advantage. When a man has taken an advance of this sort, we generally put into the agreement that he may pay it off when he likes, that no interest will be charged as long as he comes to work regularly, but that it will be charged if he absents himself without sufficient reason. But this last should never be enforced as long as a man remains on the estate, and sends some of his family to work. Nor do we interfere with the man and his family going to the harvest work, which generally lasts for a few weeks, and at which they can earn excellent wages in kind. If you make a man feel that he is your slave, and that

you expect to command every instant of his time, he will take such a dislike to you and your estate as will probably end in his either returning the advance and leaving the property, or, what is more likely, he will perhaps bolt, advance and all. And in this matter of advances, more especially small ones, you must not treat natives as you would Europeans. A coolie has no idea of time, and it is a thing he never takes into consideration at all. He will take an advance from you of, say, eight or ten shillings, for as many weeks, or even for a longer time; he daily or weekly meditates on going to work, and just as, perhaps, he has finally determined on making a start, he suddenly finds himself arrested as a swindler. At this he is very much surprised. A few rupees, he argues, can be of little consequence to the gentleman; and what can it matter, he further argues, whether he gets the value of them a few months sooner or later? Nor is this idea of time always in the coolies' favour. They seem frequently to have the same appreciation of time, whether they owe or are owed money. Cases are common of coolies not having demanded their pay for months, and in some instances for one and even for two years. They have all that time been intending to come for it; and at one time, to save the trouble of looking back in the books, I used to have a separate list made out from time to time of the people who had not turned up for their pay.* The fact is, that the principle of *vis inertiæ* (resistance to the commencement of motion, or to cessation or change of motion when moving) is developed in their nature to an extraordinary extent; and from ignorance of this fact, or from not taking it

* I have found exactly the same difficulty in getting tiger rewards paid off, especially if the tiger was killed at a distance of four or five miles from my house.

sufficiently into account, we are constantly running up with violence against Asiatics, when a little time or a sharp reminder would have answered equally well. And the term *vis inertiæ* is exactly applicable. I have often been astonished to see people whom I have distinctly told to drop work go on for a few seconds, or half a minute, as if they had never heard me, instead of stopping instantly, as an Englishman would. And there is exactly the same delay in getting them to commence work. Prompt action, or prompt cessation of action, is a thing they know nothing about.

In concluding these remarks on the management of native labour, I would urge those in charge of coolies never to be tempted into striking one of them on any pretence whatever, except for downright insolence, an occurrence that is very rare indeed, and one, in fact, that I myself never met with. Privately or publicly pounded, a man has some marks left, and something to show that will create sympathy. Besides that, it is undignified, wrong in every way, and gives one a bad name; in short, it does not pay. There are two ways of dealing with a troublesome character: the first and best is to pay him up and send him off; the second is to give him a severe ducking. The first should be resorted to in cases of disobedience or skulking; the second, solely for insolence to the native overseers, or any one who is set over the coolies. In the latter case the law cannot help you, for you must make an immediate example if you wish to have order on your estate, and your overseers respected; and ducking a man enables you to make the greatest impression on the offender with the least possible injury to the estate. This ducking of a troublesome coolie is a masterpiece of plantation craft, and, as I

onsider myself to be the sole originator of the system, feel sure the reader will pardon a few sentences on the dvantages of it, the way it should be carried out, and ts mental and physical effects. In the first place, supposing that the offender is a local coolie, the duckers hould be imported labourers, and *vice versâ*. In any ase, the duckers and the duckee should be of different illages. The bath should be administered as privately s possible, and in shallow and muddy water. When eaving his comrades, the man to be ducked goes along n a willing and cheerful way. He has no idea of what a ducking really is. But he speedily goes through three listinct stages of punishment; for (1) he is put into a state of some bodily fear, (2) a good deal of bodily inconvenience, and is (3) subjected to a great deal of ridicule, *with the additional annoyance of not being able* to excite the smallest sympathy. His friends see no difference in him whatever, except that he is in a low, depressed, and thoroughly sobered state. They have not witnessed the gasping, the spluttering, the struggling, the involuntary gulps of muddy water, and at last the visible alarm of the offender. The estate generally will consider the matter an excellent joke, and individuals will chaffingly ask the duckee what the soil was like, and whether the water of the country agreed with him. He, you may depend upon it, will venture on no more insolence on your estate. I never had occasion to carry this plan into execution more than once or twice in the whole of my planting experience, and I had every reason to be satisfied with the result.

Turning from considerations as regards punishing the coolie to the far more agreeable task of considering

is health, and diminishing the pain that is necessarily ntailed by climates which are fruitful of fevers, I ropose now, in concluding this chapter, to give a ew hints which may be useful to managers of labour n plantations, and perhaps in most parts of India. And ıere I conceive the first thing to be done for a coolie is o save him from his friends. In the treatment of isease, the first thing, and the second thing, and the hird thing that occurs to most Englishmen is physic. .t is, indeed, fearful even to think of the drastic remedies, or rather applications, that many planters have recourse to; and in looking at an apothecary's order-book in Bangalore (for I really forget what purpose), I found that the manager of a single estate in my district had ordered, in one fell line, no less than five hundred croton-oil pills. The owner of the estate in question told me that on his return from a visit to England he found that the coolies had been quite bitten by this medicine mania, and that, as the people had nothing to do on Sundays, they seemed to think that the day might not unprofitably be employed in taking drenches such as cured Sancho Panza, but nearly killed Don Quixote. Now, the first thing to be done on an estate, in the way of medicine, is to prohibit purgative drugs entirely, with the exception of castor-oil, and that should be used as sparingly as possible. Whatever the strongest European may be able to stand in the way of depletive draughts, I am confident that the native constitution, from its inferior stamina, can stand nothing of the kind; and though in fever cases a little castor-oil may be given when there is anything like constipation, the first thing and the last is the keeping up of the strength, and the immediate administration of febrifuge remedies.

At the head of these remedies quinine, of course, stands alone, but there are many objections to its use in the way it is commonly administered, in repeated doses; not as regards Europeans, who may be depended upon for taking it regularly, and who are, besides, provided with suitable glasses for the purpose, but as regards natives, who have neither means nor (probably) inclination for taking repeated doses of any medicine. It is therefore desirable to have a fever medicine which requires only to be taken once, or at the most twice, and which can be regulated and administered under the eye of the *pro tem.* doctor. Now, I know of no medicine which answers so well as what is called "Warburgh's Imitation Fever-drops;" and as we have had a long experience of it in Munzerabad, and as it has been found to answer admirably, I think it worth while to give the recipe for it, which is as follows:—

Aloes, angelica, yedsary root, of each 1 oz.; camphor, saffron, of each 40 grs.; alcohol or brandy 24 oz., or a quart bottle. Powder the ingredients, mix them with the spirit, and let them digest seven days, shaking up the mixture daily. Then filter through long-cloth, and to the filtered liquor add half an ounce of quinine. Dose, a dessert-spoonful, to be repeated after three hours. No food or drink to be taken from the first dose to an hour after the second.

The best time for giving this medicine is about the middle of the day, as a profuse perspiration is thus encouraged; and the patient should be sent to his house, and warned not to expose himself to the evening or early morning air for a day or two. In mild cases of ague one dessert-spoonful will be quite sufficient, and, as a general rule, there will be no occasion to repeat

the dose on a subsequent day, as I have found that one application of this medicine nearly always drives the fever entirely away.

For dysentery I am aware that ipecacuanha is the most approved remedy; but I have found the acetate of lead to answer so extremely well that, in treating natives, it may be confidently recommended as a permanent estate medicine.

As for cholera, measures of prevention are more to be relied upon than anything else, as we have no means of knowing that any medicine ever cured a well-established case. Some cholera medicines (Scott Thompson's is thought highly of by some), however, should be laid in; and should you have any reason to apprehend an outbreak of the disease from the fact of cases having occurred in the neighbourhood, the people should be warned to come at once for medicine in the case of diarrhœa, colic, dysentery, or the slightest attack of ague; and for the first-mentioned complaints chlorodyne is the most convenient and effectual medicine. The estate village, too, should always be visited now and then, the drains should be kept in order, and every possible sanitary precaution taken; and during the hot weather the village should be minutely scavenged, and all dead leaves and decaying vegetable matter carried into the plantation for manuring the trees.

Care should be taken to have all the permanent estate coolies vaccinated, and a man should exercise all the influence he has to have as many people of the neighbouring villages vaccinated as he possibly can. I have no means, of course, of knowing whether my precautionary measures have affected the matter, but I may mention that though cholera and small-pox have frequently broken

out, with more or less severity, in the neighbouring villages all round my property, neither of these diseases has ever appeared on my plantations. As regards cholera, which is so seriously and justly dreaded, it is a great thing to keep up the spirits of the people, and inspire them with a full confidence of your power over diseases in general. When cholera was going the rounds of the country, I used to send to Bangalore for fresh cholera medicines, announce their arrival with importance, and even express some wish that the disease should break out, in order to show how easily I could cure that as well as all other ailments. When cholera once broke out four or five miles from my house, I sent off a man with some of the medicines, and, as the disease was of a mild type, all the people who took the remedies luckily recovered, and of this fact I made a pardonable use with the view of allaying fears of cholera. When cholera is going about in the country, every death that occurs is apt to be put down to it, and panics are thus easily caused. On one occasion, when returning from a day's shooting, I found a number of grave faces round my house, and was informed that one of a party of ditch-diggers, whom I had employed to fence the estate, had died of cholera. I boldly denied, at random, that he had died of anything of the kind, and, on investigating the case, fortunately found that he had died of dropsy.

In these jungly districts the natives are frequently troubled with sores, which commonly break out in the shin, and are always accompanied by a swelling of the leg affected. These are often very troublesome and obstinate, and external ointments, though useful, are of little value unless accompanied by internal remedies; and for this complaint, if I may term it so, I have found

that the sulphate of iron is at once a cheap and effectual remedy. But the base of most jungle-district ailments will be found to be fever, and whether the fever is actually present or not, some grains of quinine may be given at the same time. For this, as for most cuts and bruises, Wroughton's ointment is as good a thing as any.

In concluding these remarks upon medicine, I may observe that the medicine chests usually supplied with, perhaps, from twenty to fifty kinds of drugs, are a snare and a delusion, and, in inexperienced hands, extremely dangerous. The medicines I would recommend for estates, then, I may here recapitulate. They are—quinine, Warburgh's imitation fever-drops, acetate of lead, sulphate of iron, Wroughton's ointment, chlorodyne, and any good cholera medicine, with a supply of castor-oil. To this stock may be added a good supply of lint, two lancets, and a few needles for sewing up wounds. The experience of different localities will, no doubt, suggest some additions to the medicines mentioned, but it will generally be found that the remedies indicated will be ample.

There is another point, which I had at first thought of omitting, but ladies are not likely to read this part of the book, and if they do, it will not much matter, considering the general interest that has been shown by them in the matter of the Contagious Diseases Act. When I first settled in Munzerabad these diseases were as little known as they are in remote country parishes in these islands; but I had not been there for more than a year when I had occasion to get in a party of coolies from the open country. With that party came two women, and thus was disease started amongst my valuable local labour. The consequence was that I soon lost some of my best

people. But the moment I discovered how matters stood I drove the women from the estate, and have kept such a careful watch since, that little or nothing has been heard of such complaints, except a few cases of a very mild type.

One word more. I do not think that, independently of any humane motives, a planter can do anything that pays better than laying out some time and money in sanitary measures. Attention to these precautions extends one's influence over the people, and amongst one's native neighbours in general; and besides, your property will acquire a good reputation as regards health, and labourers will therefore be the more readily attracted to it.

CHAPTER XVII.

SUNDRY INSTANCES OF OUR IMPERFECT INDIAN INFORMATION.

"It is much easier to collect ideas of men and things from books than from real life, and it is inconceivable how ideas once adopted continue to be propagated."

I AM of opinion that a large proportion of our information regarding the character, laws, institutions, manners, and customs of the races inhabiting our Indian Empire is wholly incorrect, and that all of it is more or less defective. Our present information is simply an inextricable mass of jungle. The accounts we have on all manner of points were, in many instances, never at any time correct; in other instances they are not correct because circumstances have altered; and innumerable accounts which might be fairly accurate as regards particular localities are made inaccurate and false by being applied to races and places as different from one another as Norway is from Greece. It was impossible to avoid this. It will be found extremely difficult to remedy it. The conclusions of various writers may be criticised by reviewers here, but they are necessarily at the mercy of those who state the facts and premises on which the conclusions are based. Those who state the premises are perfectly aware of that, and they presume accordingly. This is a great curse. As regards many points

of interest concerning tribal customs it is a nuisance, sometimes an evil, and in many respects our imperfect information has led, as will hereafter be shown, to very serious evils indeed. This want of information extends through every department of the State; it meets us at every turn; it permeates all bodies of white men in India alike, and enables us most effectually to misgovern the country and misunderstand the people. What remedies, what medicines, have we not heard of for India? The ruling agents are bursting with departments. We have had this department, and that department, and notably the Public Works, which has so well been named the Public Waste Department. Now, I believe, we are to have an Agricultural Department. But no one seems to have thought of an Information Department. And yet it is, I believe, a fact that we have no thoroughly reliable information on India whatever. How otherwise can we account for our Indian rulers having entirely failed to perceive the key of nearly every difficulty that has occurred? How is it they have failed to see that the key of finance is population, that the key of population is food, and the key of food water? How, in especial, have they, with every motive conceivable for providing a popular Government, contrived to be unpopular with all their subjects, whether dark or white? Is not popularity another financial key? Does it not mean fewer white troops? Would it not mean greater safety in the event of a war with a European power?*

* Since writing the above I have read the following in the letter of the Calcutta correspondent of the *Times* newspaper, dated November 30th, 1870:—"There is still a somewhat painful, but not cowardly feeling—nothing at all like panic—here with respect to the Russian despatch on the treaty of 1856. A couple of days ago, however, a question worth mentioning was put to me by a very grave and serious man newly returned from a long tour inland. He said—'Supposing we have a war with Russia, will the Indian Government retain the 3½ per cent.

I am aware that this want of information has been alluded to in another chapter of this book, but it is impossible to revert to the subject too often. However, I must get on with the points I wish to call particular attention to in this chapter.

I commenced by stating that a great deal of our information regarding India and its peoples is entirely erroneous, and that all of it is more or less defective. I now propose giving a few instances which seem to me to conclusively support that opinion, and which tend to prove that our information is even strikingly defective in matters of fact, concerning which most people would naturally imagine there could be no manner of doubt. If there is a tribe in the whole of India which has been often observed and much written on, it is that of the Todas of the Neilgherry Hills. The tribe is confined to a plateau about thirty-seven miles long by about twenty broad, and on this plateau are three distinct European settlements, besides the houses of the planters, which are scattered about the slopes most favourable to the planting of tea, coffee, and cinchonas. The Todas, from their peculiar habits, their houses (or rather huts), their funeral rites, their dress and general appearance, have always attracted a great deal of attention. In consequence they have, as I before

income-tax?' I replied that I supposed it would, as a war-tax. 'Then,' said he, 'you will have to take the consequences. I was here during the worst time of the mutiny, and I saw a great deal not easy to forget; but I never knew the native feeling anything like as bitter as now.' I believe that this is correct, and it is just as well stated. If our rule here is rudely challenged, we shall need, as our second requirement, real statesmanship in finance."

I may add that there is no particular fear of a war with Russia just yet. The Russians are perfectly well aware that we are hanging ourselves as fast as possible in India, and they are too clever not to give us plenty of rope. Every day strengthens the hands of Russia for a war with us, and when our Indian unpopularity is at its height, Russia will open fire in Europe. Our English statesmen will then find out, when too late, what unpopularity in India means.

said, been much observed and much written on. On the table in front of me lie a book, by Colonel W. Ross King, on "The Aboriginal Tribes of the Neilgherry Hills," and a lengthy paper on the same subject by Dr. Shortt. This seems pretty well for a beginning, but Dr. Shortt, who read his paper in June, 1868, gives a list of authorities which he had consulted on the same subject. Amongst those specially bearing on the Todas may be mentioned Captain Harkness's "Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills;" the "Antiquities of the Neilgherry Hills, &c.," by Captain H. Congreve; *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, No. 32; "The Tribes inhabiting the Neilgherries," by a German Missionary; "Goa, and the Blue Mountains," by Richard T. Burton, Bombay Army; Captain Ochterlony's "Topographical Report of the Neilgherries;" Smoult's edition of Bakie's "Neilgherries;" the file of *Neilgherry Excelsior* newspaper; "Memoranda of Toda Population," by the Rev. Mr. Metz, of Kaity, &c. Besides being fortified with this formidable list, Dr. Shortt had the advantage of being on the hills for two seasons, accompanied by a staff of vaccinators. He visited nearly all the hamlets on the hills, and frequently entered the houses for the purpose of visiting the sick, and seeing that vaccination was effectually carried out. Taking all these facts into consideration, it would seem that our information and conclusions regarding this tribe, and the effects of its customs, must be quite beyond the reach of suspicion. Now, as regards the Toda funeral rites, which, of all the customs of this tribe, have attracted most attention, the information supplied by all previous writers is partly erroneous, partly defective; and the results and

effects of the customs are exactly the reverse of what has been hitherto universally stated and implicitly believed. The most remarkable custom, then, of what has been held to be the most remarkable, and certainly the most remarked, tribe in India, has been imperfectly and erroneously described, and the result or effects of the custom entirely misapprehended. Now, I am particularly anxious to call attention to this fact, because this book, if it turns out to be of any use at all, will be mainly useful in causing an entire disbelief in, and a desire to re-examine, all our information regarding India and its peoples. I shall, therefore, devote some pages of this chapter to a short description of the Toda funeral rites, and the general result of the sacrifices performed.

The next point to which I shall call attention is the very grave error that the Government has committed in publishing fallacious statements as to the material condition of India.

The third point to which I shall direct the attention is the fact that our translations of Hindoo law, which have guided our legal decisions for I do not know how many years, are incorrect, and have caused the building up of judge-made law on a false basis.

Before commencing my remarks on the Toda funeral rites, it may not be out of place if I offer a few observations as to the difficulty of obtaining exact and minute accounts of the habits, customs, and opinions either of savages or of people in a low state of civilisation. And, in giving a few illustrations and in offering a few remarks on these difficulties, I do not think we can do better than commence as near home as possible. Look, then, in the first place, at the experience of Johnson, in his

"Tour to the Hebrides," and at the difficulties he found in getting at positive information. And, in alluding to this, I think it worth while to quote his exact words, as they illustrate so precisely what most travellers would experience if they went to the trouble of cross-examining the peoples they came in contact with, instead of writing down, as well-ascertained facts, the first answers given to their inquiries. Said Johnson:—

"Many of my subsequent inquiries upon more interesting topics ended in the like uncertainty. He that travels in the Highlands may easily saturate his soul with intelligence, if he will acquiesce in the first account. The Highlander gives to every question an answer so prompt and peremptory, that scepticism itself is awed into silence, and the mind sinks before the bold reporter in unresisting credulity; but if a second question be ventured, it breaks the enchantment, for it is immediately discovered that what was told so confidently was told at hazard, and that such fearlessness of assertion was either the sport of negligence or the refuge of ignorance. . . . . But such is the laxity of Highland conversation, that the inquirer is kept in continual despair; and, by a kind of intellectual retrogression, knows less as he hears more. . . . . I do not say that they deliberately speak studied falsehood, or have a settled purpose to deceive. They have inquired and considered little, and do not always feel their own ignorance. They are not much accustomed to be interrogated by others, and seem never to have thought upon interrogating themselves; so that if they do not know what they tell to be true, they likewise do not distinctly perceive it to be false."

The preceding is an excellent illustration of the diffi-

culties which are only apparent to those who institute minute inquiries as to the habits, customs, thoughts, and feelings of people in a low state of civilisation; but it may, perhaps, be as well to give a few more illustrations from other parts of the world. I may mention, then, that Mr. Oldfield,* speaking of the Australians, and alluding to their habit of assenting to almost every proposition, says, "I have found this habit of non-contradiction to stand very much in my way when making inquiries of them. . . . . A native once brought me in some specimens of a species of *Eucalyptus*, and being desirous of ascertaining the habit of the plant, I asked, "A tall tree?" to which his answer was in the affirmative. Not feeling quite satisfied, I again demanded, 'A low bush?' to which 'Yes' was also the response." This example is quoted by Sir John Lubbock, who observes, also, that "the mind of the savage, like that of the child, is easily fatigued, and he will then give random answers, to spare himself the trouble of thinking." And if we turn to North-west America we shall find an excellent illustration of this. Speaking of the Ahts, Mr. Sproat says, that "the native mind, to an educated man, seems generally to be asleep; and if you suddenly ask a novel question, you have to repeat it while the mind of the savage is awakening, and to speak with emphasis until he has quite got your meaning. . . . . On his attention being fully aroused, he often shows much quickness in reply, and ingenuity in argument. But a short conversation wearies him, particularly if questions are asked that require efforts of thought or memory on his part. The mind of the savage

* *Vide* Sir John Lubbock's "Origin of Civilisation and Primitive Condition of Man," pp. 4, 6.

then appears to rock to and fro out of mere weakness, and he tells lies and talks nonsense."

I may here observe that though, no doubt, it often does happen that the savage mind is, as Mr. Sproat puts it, "awakening" to understand the meaning of a question, it is extremely difficult to satisfy oneself whether that is invariably the case or not. In many instances I am convinced the answer is not prompt or to the point, because the person questioned is turning over in his mind what you are driving at. This causes a delay in giving the answer; and as you are obliged to repeat your question if you are in a hurry for a reply, it is imagined commonly that the question, when first put, has not been comprehended at all. As an illustration of my meaning I may mention that, when riding through a harvest-field in Munzerabad, I asked some question (I forget at this moment what) of one of the farmers. Instead of answering the question, he said, "I don't understand your language." I then at once made, to English ears, a not very polite allusion to the person of one of his female relatives, and asked him if he understood that. At this sally there was a general laugh, and I then said, without repeating a word of it, "Now answer my first question." He answered it perfectly; and this showed that he no doubt heard the question well enough, but was engaged in either looking at me or in wondering what I was driving at. In short, his state of mind was not unlike that of the Scotchman who, being asked the way to Kelso, replied, "Ye'll hae come from Hawick?" and I have had exactly the same sort of reply made to me in Munzerabad when asking my way.

As Mr. Oldfield observed, the habit of non-contradic-

tion is excessively troublesome, and this has probably to be more guarded against in India than in any other quarter of the globe; for the savage races will assent from indolence, and the more civilised races sometimes from politeness, sometimes from having an undue regard to that cautious rule which is so well expressed in the well-known Eastern saying, "If the king saith at noonday, 'It is night,' you are to say, 'Behold the moon and the stars.'" An inquirer should, therefore, never put a leading question at all, but should so contrive that the information wanted may be supplied in the form of an original statement. An Englishman is too apt to ask his questions point-blank, and without any preamble, as it were, instead of getting the person he wants information from to talk about the subject generally. But I have probably said enough now to be of some use to those who have opportunities of acquiring information in different quarters of the globe.

I said, at the commencement of this chapter, that the Toda funeral rites have been erroneously or inadequately described, and the practical results of the sacrifices entirely misapprehended. Now, from the works he has consulted (some of which were mentioned in the fourth page of this chapter), it would seem that Dr. Shortt made use of every kind of information he could lay his hands on; and we may, therefore, conclude that the following statement was the result of all the experience acquired up to the time that he read his paper—viz., up to June, 1868. Alluding, then, to these funeral sacrifices, we are told that, "in former times, on the death of a Toda, his entire herd was sacrificed. Men leaped into the pen with their clubs, and the animals were beaten to death at much personal risk, for the

Toda buffaloes are strong and fierce, even attacking strangers on their walks if they incautiously approach too near them. The British Government put a stop to this cruel practice of wholesale slaughter; and at the present day no more than one or two animals are sacrificed at this annual ceremony. The whole herd was sacrificed in the superstitious belief that they were thus secured to the deceased in the next world."

The next statement I have to mention regarding this custom was sent to the *Field* newspaper by Colonel Shakespear some years ago; and, in alluding to the Toda funeral rites, he informed the public that, "if a man has two hundred buffaloes, one hundred are beaten to death at his funeral rites."

Thirdly, I may add that, when I visited the Neilgherry Hills in the year 1865, it was generally believed, and as generally asserted, that the Todas had always been in the habit of beating their buffaloes to death on these occasions.

Now, I had heard so much about this Toda tribe that I was determined to learn all I could about them during my stay on the hills. I accordingly hired one of the tribe as a sort of guide, gun-carrier, and general attendant, and paid him regular monthly wages. This individual, whose picture I here give, and who certainly was far from good-looking, spoke Canarese fluently, as, too, did many of his tribe, from the great influx of Mysoreans on the hills, so that conversation between us was as easy as if we had both spoken one language from childhood. Besides this, I took care to pick up a few words of the Toda language, as I well knew the effect that even the command of a few simple sentences has with a people of this sort. With my Toda guide I

rambled all over the hills, visited the various European stations and the coffee and cinchona plantations, and everything that there was to be seen, and made especial inquiries wherever I went as to the Todas and their customs. Their funeral rites, of course attracted my special attention, and these I was determined to observe in person on the very first opportunity. My guide was at first rather reluctant to accompany me, or rather guide me, to the spot where the rites were held, as the Government had endeavoured to discourage the buffalo sacrifices, and had limited the number, as Dr. Shortt observes, to one or two animals. I soon, however, overcame his objections, and one Sunday morning we started off to a spot in the hills about eight miles from Ootacamund; Sunday, I was informed, being specially selected to avoid the chances of Europeans being present, as the Todas had determined considerably to exceed the Government allowance of buffaloes.

We had a splendid day for our expedition, which I confess I did not look forward to with much pleasure, as, from all I had heard, I was fully prepared for a scene of disgusting and useless slaughter. But, had it not been for these disagreeable anticipations, it would have been difficult to conceive a pleasanter ride. The climate at that time of year is splendid. There was a fine, exhilarating breeze, a clear light-blue sky, with fleecy clouds driving across it at intervals, and everything was green and fresh. My Toda guide strode along in front, I came next on horseback, and my horse-keeper followed in the rear. The scenery in the interior of the plateau of the hills, though pleasant to look on, has nothing of grandeur about it; the ground is mostly

Vincent Brooks, Day & Son, Lith.

A TODA WOMAN

MY TODA GUIDE

undulating, with occasional tiny hills, and interspersed with strips of jungle, which generally are to be found clothing the hollows, and stretching along every ravine. After eight miles of this, up hill and down dale, we at length reached our destination.

The sacrificial temple, or rather hut (for it deserved no grander name), stood below an overhanging rock, which commanded the head of a slightly-sloping hollow. About the hut were clustered a number of women, while on the slopes on either side sat, at some little distance, groups of Todas, who had assembled from all parts of the hills, some to witness and some to take an active part in the ceremonies, which, as will be shown, were not unattended with danger. I confess that they did not seem to be over-pleased at my arrival, but I hastened to explain to the principal men, most of whom understood Canarese, that I had nothing to do with the Government, and that, as far as I was concerned, they were quite at liberty to kill as many buffaloes as they pleased. This assurance seemed quite to satisfy them, and I then took a comfortable seat amongst the groups of spectators.

Shortly after my arrival, twenty-five Todas seated themselves, with their long clothes wrapped about them, on one side of the hollow, but only a few feet above the bit of nearly level ground which formed what may be called the scene of action. Some minutes later we heard the shouts of those driving the half-wild animals to the spot, and, in a few seconds more, the herd, seven in number, headed the brow, and dashed headlong down the slope into the hollow. To my astonishment, the moment the buffaloes had fairly started down the hill, the party who were seated nearly at the bottom of the

opposite slope dropped their long clothes, and, stark naked (with the exception of the usual covering round the loins), ran at full speed to meet the buffaloes, which charged headlong into them, knocked over several, and entirely evaded the attempt made to arrest their progress. The buffaloes, however, had but a temporary advantage, for the agile Todas soon overtook them, hung on to their long horns (which, from the fact of their stretching so far back, can be seized without much danger), and, settling on each animal like a hive of bees, half dragged, half goaded them to the place of sacrifice. When the first was ready, I was asked to approach, and accordingly entered the crowd around the buffalo, which, held fast by its long horns, was now quite exhausted with its struggles to escape. I felt a little uncomfortable, I confess, after all the stories I had heard; but, to my relief, the priest produced a heavy axe, and despatched the animal with a single blow, which was struck at the junction of the head and neck. The animal was dead before it reached the ground, and, to make sure, the fracture of the spinal column was completed by the head being subsequently wrenched sharply to one side. The blow was struck with the back of the axe, which was rounded off like a sledge-hammer, and I saw five others despatched in a similar manner. The seventh was reserved for slaughter during some ceremonies which were to be performed the same evening.

I next proceeded to inquire into the history of each buffalo. One of the lot was a shabby-looking calf, five were aged or barren buffaloes, and the seventh (which was dedicated to God) was the only good one of the number killed; and this seemed to indicate that, though the souls of their deceased relatives might be put off

with useless animals, the Supreme Being was not to be so treated. I then made inquiries as to the proprietorship of the slaughtered animals, when it appeared that only two of the buffaloes belonged to the family of the deceased, the remainder being contributed by relatives. Thus the sacrifice was a convenient opportunity for getting rid of all the worthless animals of the herd, and so far from Government interfering with this custom, it should rather, if it must interfere at all, endeavour to induce the Hindoos in general to adopt this harmless and useful sacrificial rite. Nor need I occupy much space in showing that the old and worthless help to starve the strong and serviceable cattle, and so render the whole herd more liable to the inroads of disease. But no one who has lived in the rural districts of India can fail to notice the numbers of useless animals that are kept, to the common detriment, in a country where every scrap of fodder is of importance. The general effect, therefore, of this custom has been entirely misapprehended, and owing to people believing and rewriting the observations of others, instead of examining carefully the minutest details of customs, the Government, with its usual well-meaning, meddling spirit, has added just so much more to its general unpopularity.*

On this occasion I must mention that long peeled wands were used to goad the animals up to the sacrificial spot. One little incident took place which seemed to me to be both curious and interesting. After one of the most powerful of the buffaloes had been got up to the

* The Government, I may add, has no more right to cut off a deceased Toda's buffaloes than it has to limit the number of masses performed for a deceased Roman Catholic. The Todas and the Roman Catholics perform their ceremonies alike for the repose of souls, though their ideas of what is requisite differ considerably.

place of sacrifice with a great deal of dragging and goading, one of the Todas took a quantity of butter, and commenced buttering its back and sides. I was informed that he was the owner, that the buffalo had been a favourite, and (though it had only to live for about a minute longer) that he was applying the butter in order to allay the pain of the blows it had received. On this occasion there seemed to me to be no unnecessary cruelty used, and the chasing and hunting about of the buffaloes must evidently have originated with the view of tiring out the animals, which, from their great strength, could not otherwise be held firmly enough to allow of the fatal blow being struck with accuracy.

When inquiring into the history of each of the slaughtered animals, I found that they were all females, and that cow-buffaloes alone were always sacrificed, and for the obvious reason that the whole of the funeral sacrifices are made with the view of providing the soul of the deceased with a complete outfit for the next world. At these rites, accordingly, are offered up all that a Toda is supposed to require in a future state,—cloth, grain, pots, milking-vessels, cow-buffaloes to supply him with milk, and even sticks to drive them with. Now, the sex of the buffaloes is not mentioned either by Dr. Shortt or Colonel Ross King. If it had been, the absurdity of asserting that "in former times, on the death of a Toda his entire herd was sacrificed," would have been avoided by the former gentleman; for a whole herd must necessarily include bulls, and, as the Todas do not plough the ground at all, and have not the slightest idea of breeding buffaloes in a future state, it is plain that to sacrifice any but cows would have been of no use. Nor is there the slightest reason to suppose, as stated by Dr. Shortt

Colonel Shakespear, and others, that the buffaloes were ever beaten to death at any time. In fact, considering the size and strength of the animals, I doubt the possibility of its being done at all; or, if it could be done, I doubt if the Todas or any other people would go to the immense trouble and labour of beating eight or ten huge buffaloes to death. The idea of the buffaloes being beaten to death is, it seems to me, not very difficult to trace. On occasions when larger numbers are to be slaughtered, the animals are enclosed in a circular pen, or stone-walled enclosure, and beaten with clubs to make them run round, and charge about, and exhaust themselves. Here some unnecessary cruelty seems generally to be used; but the whole thing simply amounts to the fact that the buffaloes are usually killed as mercifully as possible, and that on rare occasions they are subjected to some unnecessary beating before the final blow with the axe.

The next feature I have to notice in Toda customs is that of their polyandrous habits, which to us appear so singular, but which are to be met with in several parts of India. And here I shall be able to furnish the reader with a notable instance in contradiction of the common assumption as to the unchangeableness of Hindoo customs. In fact, it is so commonly assumed that the Hindoos are so entirely the Hindoos, and that a change of circumstances will never produce a change of habit, that you will every day find quotations made from observers of fifty years back to prove the present existence of one custom or another. But, as regards polyandrous habits, I think we shall have some reason to conclude that both the Todas and the Coorgs have changed very considerably, and that the time is not far distant when both of them will marry much as other people do.

Polyandry, as practised by the Todas, consists in all the brothers of a family living promiscuously with one or more women. Thus, supposing the eldest brother to marry, his younger brothers, as they reach the age of puberty, will consort with their elder brother's wife; or if, for instance, the wife of the elder brother have sisters, they become the wives of the brothers when of a suitable age. Now, in former times this tribe indulged much in female infanticide; hence a scarcity of women, and hence the common result of a single woman living promiscuously with, or being the sole wife of, five or six brothers. Now, when Dr. Shortt said that "owing, however, to the great scarcity of women in this tribe, it more frequently happens that a single woman is wife to several husbands, sometimes as many as six," he said what I believe must have been true once; but to state it as true at present is completely erroneous. In fact, Dr. Shortt's statements of population contradict the notion of any such disproportion between the sexes being the rule, at least as living together in the relations of man and wife; for, in an account of the population of four villages given by him, we have one village in which the men and women are equal in number; a second, where the proportion is as four men to three women; a third, nine men to seven women; and a fourth, ten men to four women. Nor are any facts given to prove that, female infanticide having been abandoned, there exists any scarcity of women. I have no evidence to show that Dr. Shortt is wrong in his statements as to this alleged disproportion, nor do I assert that such may not be the case, but, till it is proved, I see no reason why we should believe that the Todas have more male than female children.

As far as I was able to learn by repeated inquiries, the facts at present are that there is no unusual disproportion between the sexes, and that, as every man now can have a wife for himself alone, there is a natural tendency to revert to ordinary marital customs. The causes which led to polyandrous habits can, I apprehend, easily be traced; and as these causes no longer exist, and as such habits are largely influenced by the opinions of the numerous Indians who have flocked to the hills, we may infer deductively that the customs are altering with the circumstances which gave rise to them. These circumstances were, firstly, that to a nomadic tribe too many women are an encumbrance, and that over-population soon becomes an intolerable burden. Hence arose female infanticide, and, from a scarcity of women, polyandry naturally resulted. But all this is changed now. "We don't kill the female children now," frankly said my Toda guide, "because we can let our lands to the people who have flocked to the hills, and we can now get plenty to eat. And besides," he added, "it's against the Government order." But, as has been pointed out in another part of this book, the Government order would have been of little use had the worldly circumstances of the Todas remained unchanged. The result of change of circumstances, then, has led, I believe, to a considerable change in habit. To what extent this has operated I had no means of ascertaining, but numerous huts at which I made inquiries in 1865 were occupied by a single pair; and within the last five years it is extremely probable that, as every man can have a wife for himself, he will find it more convenient, for many reasons, to abandon the customs of his forefathers. But on this point we are still in want of

reliable information, as the inquiries of single individuals are seldom sufficiently extensive. In the meantime, however, the argument that changed circumstances have necessarily produced an alteration or modification of polyandric customs seems to be the most reliable we have.*

However the case may be with the Todas, I am now going to allude to a race who are put down by Dr. Shortt as polyandrists, who once were polyandrists, but who are now thoroughly ashamed of the custom: I allude to the Coorgs, a very fine race of people, inhabiting the little province of Coorg, which is contiguous to Munzerabad, and lies to the south of that county of the province of Mysore. The earliest notice I can find as to their polyandrous habits is in Tippoo's speech of the year 1784, by which it appears that the Coorgs were, at that time, notorious polyandrists. The Coorgs, it seems, were always endeavouring to assert their independence; and just as in ancient times in this country the Scottish monarchs used to make an expedition to settle the borders, or, in other words, hang as many borderers as possible, so did the Mahomedan usurpers of the throne of Mysore march against the Coorgs whenever they could find time to do so. In the year 1784

* We are here occupied solely with instances of our misapprehensions of Indian ways and customs. It would, however, be interesting to have some account of their misapprehensions as regards us, and the things we set up and carry about with us. I may mention here that when I was going round the Horticultural Gárden at Ootacamund with a tody-drawer from Munzerabad and my Toda guide, I overheard the latter, when pointing out to the new-comer some rude figures on a flower-vase, say with great glee, "Just look here;" and he gave an unmentionable interpretation of the meaning of the group, which, indeed, was not unnatural, considering the juxtaposition of the figures. On another occasion, when leaving a planter's house, I was given a note of introduction to a brother planter in the neighbourhood. The Toda was present when the note was given, and he shortly afterwards asked *me* whether it was the bill for the breakfast I had just partaken of.

Tippoo, after putting down the Coorgs, assembled a large body of them, and addressed them as follows:—

"If," said Tippoo, "six brothers dwell together in one house, and the elder brother marries, his wife becomes equally the wife of the other five, and the intercourse, so far from being disgraceful, is considered as a national rite. Not a man in the country knows his father, and the ascendency of women and the bastardy of children is your common attribute. From the period of my father's conquest of the country you have rebelled seven times, and caused the death of thousands of our troops. I forgive you once more; but if rebellion be ever repeated, I have made a vow to God to honour every man of the country with Islam; I will make them aliens to their home, and establish them in a distant land, and thus at once extinguish rebellion and plurality of husbands, and initiate them in the more honourable practices of Islam."

This address, which, I may observe, was put upon record by Tippoo himself, certainly seems to show that the Coorgs of these times must have been quite as much polyandrists as any people could be, and yet we have it on the best authority that the Coorgs have now almost entirely abandoned this practice. I find it, however, asserted by Captain Cole, formerly Superintendent of Coorg, that the practice of a man raising up children to his deceased brother's wife is still far from unknown. But here I conceive there would be a great difficulty in getting at reliable evidence. But whatever may occasionally occur, it seems to be generally admitted that the Coorgs have, as regards these customs, abandoned the practice of their forefathers. In this case I have no means of tracing the causes that led to poly-

andry amongst these people, nor am I aware of any attempt having been made to do so; nor, again, have I ever seen it stated when the practice commenced to decline.

The local legend of the origin of the custom amongst the Coorgs was told me by a Brahmin priest, near whose temple I halted to avoid the mid-day heat when travelling to the capital of Coorg in 1865. Two brothers one day went hunting in the forest, when they discovered a Brahmin girl wandering alone through the jungles. She had attained the age of puberty without having been married, and in order that the disgrace* attaching to the family to which she belonged might be wiped out, it had been determined to leave her to be starved to death in the jungle. The hunters brought home the girl; but before showing her to their mother, they said, "We have found a girl in the jungle: what is to be done with her?" Now, in their language, the words "fruit" and "woman" have a near resemblance in sound, and the mother, thinking that her sons had found a fruit of some kind or other, said, "Let each take half." The brothers, thinking that her reply referred to the girl, lived with her in future as joint husbands. This story is evidently merely another version of that in the Mahabarata, of which Dr. Shortt gives a translation in the paper to which I have referred as being read by him to the members of the Ethnological Society. In this story we are told how Dropudi became the wife of the brothers Pandu. The Pandavas, it appears, were once residing at Oude in the disguise of beggars, and on this occasion they were accompanied by their mother,

* Amongst the Brahmins a girl cannot in any case, I believe, be married after she has attained the age of puberty.

Kuntidevi. Now a certain rajah, named Drubada, made a vow that he would give his daughter Dropudi in marriage to the best archer who should present himself. Amongst the competitors, but still in disguise, were the five brothers, one of whom carried off the prize. The marriage was solemnised on the spot, and the brothers took home the bride; but on arrival, and without showing what they had brought with them, they said merely that they had brought a rare object, and wished their mother's orders regarding its disposal. In reply, the mother said, "Share it equally between you five brothers." They then showed Dropudi, upon which the mother left it to them to act up to their promise or not. They agreed to act up to the first directions, however; and so Dropudi became the common wife of all five.

Curiously enough, the Coorg local legend does not seem to be generally, if at all, known, and I have never met with it in print.

As regards polyandry in other parts of India I have no original information; but I have little doubt that, wherever it has existed throughout India, considerable modifications must have taken place within recent years; and as it would certainly be a matter of interest if we could obtain some fresh and thoroughly reliable information on the subject, I hope that those who may have opportunities may communicate their experience to the public journals in some shape or other.

It is time now to turn the attention of the reader to the next instance of erroneous Indian information which I have selected for consideration in this chapter. I allude to the fallacious statements made by Government as to the actual material state of India—statements which have fostered the belief that India is rich

and prosperous, and full of hoarded wealth, while it is, in reality, the very poorest and neediest of countries. To the general reader this may seem a very trifling matter. In sober truth, it is a very serious one. When it is asserted that India is in a prosperous state, and when this is declared on the authority of the Government, a very serious responsibility is incurred. I have no space here to go into this subject at any length, but I may just mention two very obvious considerations. One is that when you assume that a country is prosperous and rich, the expenses of the administration are certain to be costly; the second is that you encourage private individuals to lay out enormous sums in railway extensions that had far better be spent on works of a totally different character. How much or how little the fallacious statements of Government may have had to do with our administrative blunders it is impossible to say; but I think it highly probable that a very large share of famines and misgovernment may be safely put down to these statements, because, if we had clearly recognised the poverty of the country and the steady drain on its resources, we should have pursued a very different policy. But as to the statements.

And here I find myself in the usual dilemma that all writers experience if they wish to be read in this country. If I give a full and particular statement, the reader will simply shut the book; if I do not, I may mislead. But I think it just possible to hit upon a medium course which will be fairly agreeable to all parties. I shall, therefore, content myself with making a few point-blank statements here regarding the erroneous information alluded to; and if any one wishes to inquire further into the matter, I beg to refer him to

a most interesting and instructive paper on "The Commerce of India," which was read at a meeting of the Society of Arts on the 15th of February last. This paper was contributed by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, and gives a better idea of the real state of India than anything I have read, and it is from the paper in question that I am now about to quote a few facts concerning fallacious Government statements.

Some twelve years ago, John Bull, being desirous of gauging the material prosperity of his empire in the East, applied, through the medium of Parliament, to the India House for some information on the subject. At the house in question a Memorandum was prepared on the "Improvements in the Administration during the last Thirty Years." Under the head of "General Prosperity," the writer of the Memorandum in question, after giving an account of exports and imports for a period of twenty-one years (from 1834 to 1855), wound up by assuring John Bull that he need not be at all concerned for the prosperity of his Indian dominions, and that "the great excess of exports above imports" (of merchandise) "is regularly liquidated in silver." How very agreeable all this is! thought the good man; and he folded his hands, and fell into a slumber full of silvern dreams. He dreamt and he dreamt of those silvern hoards which must be accumulating in every house, and wondered how he could unlock them, and pour a portion of the profits into his deep and capacious pockets. Whether the Indian Government really meant to take the good man in, or whether the Memorandum in question was merely another phase of that drivelling stage which seems to have taken entire possession of the people who try to govern India, I have no means of

ascertaining. But, however that may be, it is certain that the whole thing is a mere illusion. The liquidation in silver was an illusion. So are the hoards of the precious metals; and it is time that John Bull should be roused up, and shown the real state of things. The fact of the matter is, that a good deal of silver has gone to the East, as it was required to take the place of grain as a medium of exchange; but, so far from a sufficient quantity having gone to liquidate the excess of exports over imports, it would be nearer the truth to say that, during the past thirty-four years, exports to the amount of two hundred and sixty millions have not been returned to India in any shape whatever. And what, after all, does this wonderful drain of bullion to the East really amount to? How much, for instance, has India, with its two hundred millions, really retained for its whole use since the commencement of this century? The amount is equal to about thirty-four shillings a head of the population—not per annum, but for the whole seventy years. No wonder that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji told his audience that he hardly expected to be believed when he told them that this covered everything, and that it was the amount retained "for all purposes—commercial, social, and political—for circulation, wear and tear, for remittances, for railway and other loans, and to fill up the drain of former periods." Thus much for the great silvern sink.

Let us now say just a few words as to the drain on India by this country, or, as it has been well put, let us glance at the salary paid by the natives of India for being systematically misgoverned; for being slaughtered by famines to an extent they were never slaughtered before; and for being placed in greater danger of

famines than ever they were before. For these immense advantages it is calculated that they pay here about twelve millions per annum, which does not go back to them in treasure or in any other shape whatever, and this sum is certainly very considerably under the mark.* When we come to consider all this, and that we are steadily getting through the population at the rate of about two millions and a quarter every ten years (and we may confidently look forward to an increase under this head), it is certainly wonderful that we have not got much deeper into the mud. It is difficult, of course, to calculate as to when the country will finally sink under the load; but if we go on as we are doing at present, and the famines keep coming in as usual, as we may fairly calculate on their doing, I think it highly probable that we may get things into an utterly irretrievable confusion in about another twenty years. The proclamations and assertions of our Indian officials are certainly splendid, and nearly, if not quite, rival those of the ex-Emperor of the French. But, as Mr. Dadabhai asked the other day, "Are the British rulers practically adopting a policy which would justify their declarations in the Report of the material and moral progress of India for 1868-69, that 'the State has now publicly announced its responsibility for the life of the least of its subjects?' or the noble sentiment expressed by Lord Mayo, to the effect that 'the coils that England seeks to entwine are

* The charges on the revenues of India disbursed in England are, for 1869-70, about £7,700,000; and those for 1868-69 about £7,350,000. The total pay of the services in India is £9,000,000, of which Mr. Dadabhai calculates that about one-half is remitted to this country. Then there are the savings brought over by the Government servants, to say nothing of the sum brought over by lawyers, barristers, doctors, merchants, and planters. In fact, every one who can brings over the profit and produce of the soil of India, and scatters them broadcast over Europe. People are fond of talking about the waste caused by native princes, but the effects they produced were as nothing compared with this tremendous depletion.

no iron fetters, but the golden chains of affection and peace?'" Affection! John Bull, you are often asleep, and weakly careless of danger; but I never till now thought you went in for humbug.

In wandering through the interminable forests at the foot of the Western Ghauts, accompanied perhaps by a single attendant, a singular, or I should rather say natural, tincture steals into the forces of the mind. There is something in the silence that pervades all nature, something in the mountains that tower above, something in coming face to face with the uncontrollable, that ends in a feeling of seriousness, perhaps even of awe—the feeling which, with advanced man, leads to religion; with debased man, to superstition. But the predominant feeling of all, or at least the one which is most constantly present, is that of feebleness in the presence of the overwhelming forces of nature. And so, to go from great things to small, is the sense with which one stands amidst the jungles of our Indian administration. On all sides are impenetrable thickets, into which you despair of letting one glimpse of daylight. Perhaps you let in a little light here and there after much trouble and infinite labour. But the prevailing feeling is one of feebleness and helplessness in the face of such tremendous difficulties, and the further you plunge into the forest, the more hopeless seems the possibility of your ever emerging from it. The reader doubtless has long ago gone back, and retreated out of the jungle for ever. But, reader or no reader, I must, before beating a final retreat, endeavour to point, not perhaps to the darkest spot in the forest, but certainly to one which urgently needs a few rays of light. Of my own knowledge I can, it is true, do

nothing in the way of light-shedding; but the aid of one of the first Sanscrit scholars in Europe, or perhaps in the world, fortunately enables me to do justice to the subject, and it is owing to the kindness of Professor Goldstücker that I am enabled to use materials of such unquestionable value.

The general reader is probably aware that our attempts at government in India have included an attempt to administer the laws of the Hindoos as regards two very important points—the law of inheritance and the law of adoption. Whatever else we may or may not profess to do, we do profess to administer these legal points; and in order to show the people of India how long and beautifully we can work a law, there is a current of appeal which may be stretched through court after court in India, till it finally reaches that pellucid fountain-head which is called the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Many people have complained of the exceeding length of this chain, but others have contended that what it wanted in shortness was amply supplied by its general sweetness and extraordinary strength; and that the satisfaction of reaching a source of justice actually located on British soil far more than compensated for all the delays and expenses of the way. It shall be my business here, as briefly as possible, to glance at the perfectibility of these sources, which the mild Hindoo is said to value more than his forefathers ever valued the waters of the Ganges.

The principles of justice have been so entirely wanting in the management of Indian affairs, that it is absolutely necessary, at the outset, to lay down as clearly as possible the qualifications which entitle an individual, or a body of individuals, to administer the laws of a people.

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Supposing, then, that this country was governed by the Russians, that they undertook to administer our laws for us, and that the final appeal lay to a court in St. Petersburg, what are the qualifications which ought to entitle a Russian judge to a seat in that court? The first and most obviously indispensable qualification would certainly be a knowledge of English—not perhaps a good colloquial knowledge, but at least an ability to read the language in which the laws are written. In the absence of an ability to read, and an unwillingness to learn, English, it is plain that the Russians would have to carefully translate all our statutes and judge-made laws, and all the commentaries that could throw any light upon them. With the aid of that mass of translated English, the Russian judges might get on fairly enough, notwithstanding that translators are generally traitors; but still it cannot be doubted that there would probably be many miscarriages of justice. Now, the laws of inheritance and adoption in India, and all the digests and commentaries thereon, are written in Sanscrit. The English judges who administer these laws know no Sanscrit, nor do the counsel who address them. But this is far from being all. Many important Sanscrit law-books which relate to these points have never been translated at all; some of those that have been are very untrustworthy translations; some translations are, as regards particular passages, in direct collision; and important errors have even been discovered in the translation of Colebrooke, who has deservedly been held to be the greatest authority in Hindoo law. The consequence of all this is, that the judges, not being able to administer laws they cannot read in the original, and of which incorrect and insufficient translations only are

available, are obliged to content themselves with giving decisions regarding Hindoo law which are sometimes not based on Hindoo law at all. The most extraordinary part of the whole of this disgraceful state of things is, that in a country which professes to administer law with some attention to justice, men are to be found who will undertake the administration of laws with which they have no possible means of becoming thoroughly acquainted. But, after all, there is nothing, I believe, extraordinary in nature; and so far from this being extraordinary, it is probably just one more sign of our national decadence, and one more sign of the harmonious rottenness which is so apparent to any one who has gone to the trouble of glancing below that polished surface of Indian affairs which is so regularly burnished for the edification of the English public.

Hitherto I have contented myself with general statements. It now remains to enter into some details, at least as regards a part of these statements. I have here, of course, no space to go into the subject at any length, and those who wish to examine further into the matter should consult Professor Goldstücker's paper "On the Shortcomings of the Present Administration of the Hindu Law." This paper will be published in the *Journal of the East India Association*, and will, I believe, appear also in the form of a pamphlet.

I have previously alluded to the fact that colliding, untrustworthy, and imperfect translations of Hindoo law-books are used by our judges, and evidences for these statements are amply supplied by Professor Goldstücker. I shall not, however, quote the examples he gives in support of these startling discoveries. My purpose here is merely to glance at the subject with

the view of calling the attention of the public here to the way in which justice, or rather injustice, is administered by the highest courts that the Indians have access to. I shall, therefore, confine myself, in the first instance, to pointing out that the translations of Hindoo law-books are insufficient in quantity; and, in the second place, I purpose calling the attention of the reader to a decision of the Privy Council, which, if allowed to become a precedent, will produce a very important alteration in the Hindoo law of inheritance.

Professor Goldstücker commences his interesting paper by an enumeration of the most important codes, commentaries, and digests on the Hindoo law of inheritance and adoption. He then briefly reviews the English translations at present available, and inquires into the quality of these translations, which, as he points out, are "a mere fraction of the large mass of Hindu law literature." Having remarked on their quality, and supplied examples of colliding translations, omissions, and mistranslations, he then proceeds to inquire whether, "even in their most perfect condition, the existing translations of the Hindu law-books could be held to suffice for the settlement of the numerous cases that arise from disputes in matters of Hindu inheritance and adoption." He then distinctly asserts that the translations are entirely insufficient, and enumerates certain law-books, not yet translated, as indispensable for arriving at the precise meaning of particular texts. And it is also very clearly pointed out that, "so long as these works remain untranslated, in matters of inheritance, justice to the Hindus must remain uncertain, because it would often have to depend on the reasoning of the European mind, which, failing to appreciate the historical parts and the

religious ground within which Hindu reasoning proceeds, must necessarily often become fallacious." The Professor then proceeds to give an illustration of the effects of administering the laws of India through the medium of translations which are a mere fraction of Hindoo law literature; and the following case will show the reader what an inestimable privilege the people of India enjoy, in being able to obtain real justice from English judges, seated in the very heart of these islands.

I had here intended giving a *résumé* of the case selected by Professor Goldstücker, but think that, after all, it will be better to give the entire case in an appendix, to which I accordingly refer those interested in the matter.* The case is one of very particular interest, and shows how thoroughly incapable English judges must necessarily be of satisfactorily administering Hindoo law.

Before closing this cursory notice of one of the numerous branches of our misgovernment of India, it may be as well to point out those measures which are absolutely essential to the proper administration of Hindoo law. The first qualification, or rather a qualification which ought to be utterly indispensable, is an ability to read Sanscrit. The next thing to be done is to prevent appeals coming to this country at all. As to the first point there can be no argument; but I am aware that the second suggestion will not remain undisputed. Those who would encourage appeals to a court in this country go on the assumption that the Hindoos consider the right of appeal to be a privilege. We have, however, no evidence at all for assuming that such is the case; and, till some *practical* evidence is adduced, I see

* See Appendix G.

no reasons for believing in any such assumption. In any case, it must be conceded that, whether the Hindoos go to the water or the water goes to them, it would not much matter, unless we suppose that the peoples of India considered a voyage to India would be a certain cause of contamination, and that all the law and purity would ooze clean out of the judges when they were passing through the Red Sea. A trip to Bombay only occupies three weeks, and I can see no reason why the Hindoo law judges should not make an annual trip for, say, six months, and then return to England.

This allusion to Sanscrit mistranslations reminds me that I cannot do better than close this chapter by one word in favour of taking better care of by far the most valuable Oriental library in the world. But before commencing to find fault, it may be as well to give our Indian rulers the credit they are entitled to for that consistency which they seem to have invariably shown in the management of Indian affairs. Go where you will, from the remotest jungles of India to the top of the India Office at Westminster, and you will find the same principle prevailing, the same disregard of what is valuable and useful, and the same anxious care bestowed on what is of little value,* and often productive of much harm. We have glanced at what is going on in India; let us look for one moment at the topmost story of Indo-

* The following little piece of satire would be amusing were it not too painfully true, and the only thing our cold-blooded Government does when it hears of impending famines and starving people is to order a careful Report to be made in order to furnish nicely-adjusted returns for a future Blue Book. At page 170 of the 1869-70 Report on Coorg, Captain Thompson tells us that "many of the unfortunate coolies fall victims to fever, and some die of starvation by the roadside. It may be a matter for consideration," he continues, "whether some funds should not be allotted for the relief of these poor wretches when found in this state; it certainly seems unbecoming of a paternal Government to organise an extensive system for counting the deaths and pay for burying paupers, but not to do anything to save their lives."

Westminster Palace. The ascent truly is typical, and seems intended to instruct the English as to the nature of those ghauts up which the weary traveller of Indian books appears ever to be climbing. You toil up an ascent of one hundred and forty steps, and at last, quite worn and breathless, and in summer perspiring at every pore, enter what seems to be a series of passages and chambers intended either for astronomical observations or for the growth of tropical plants. Along some of those passages are open gratings at intervals of a few yards. On peering carefully down these, you become sensible that there is a corresponding chamber below, and you can see people occasionally flitting about like the stokers in the lowest depths of some P. and O. steamer's engine-room. This, you are told, is the Record Office, and as the eye becomes accustomed to the darkness you can dimly perceive whole walls apparently lined with records—records, no doubt, of some things good, but records more often of the millions done to death by famine, of tumble-down barracks, and of years of misdeeds and misgovernment. What if a fire broke out here? Perhaps it would be all the better for the records; but how as to the library above? The flames would lick clean up the gratings into this unrivalled collection, and in a few minutes the whole would be irretrievably lost.

But let us walk through the library chambers and passages. On all sides are priceless treasures: Arabic MSS. to the number of about two thousand; Persian to double that amount; while of Sanscrit there are not less than four thousand five hundred.* Many of these

* At Berlin, St. Petersburg, and Paris there are collections in Arabic and Persian nearly equal to ours, but there is nothing in the world at all approaching to our collection of Sanscrit MSS.

MSS. are gorgeously illuminated. Besides these, there are fifty thousand printed volumes, the greater part of which are Oriental works. Against these unfortunate volumes all the malignity of man seems to have been brought to bear. They are left in open shelves, exposed to endless blacks from the skylights above, and endless dust from the Record Office below. Being in rooms and passages roofed with glass, they are exposed to arctic cold in winter, and more than tropical heat in summer. I thought I knew what London filth was, but until I had spent some days amongst these volumes I found that I had never met with real dirt before; and I found that it was practically impossible to turn over the pages of more than a few volumes without washing my hands or leaving black finger-marks on the pages. I shall never forget my first day's study. Seated in the main room, and under the fierce glare of a truly tropical heat, was a German student, surrounded with Sanscrit MSS., and deeply immersed in the study thereof. On the opposite side was my appointed place, which I soon found intolerable. I begged that the sun-blinds might be drawn, and an attendant speedily complied with my request. I little knew what I had done. The blind was drawn, and the blacks descended in never-ending succession. I soon shifted my ground, but the unhappy student (there being no other place available for the kind of work he was engaged in) blew and puffed, and puffed and blew, the livelong day. But the fact is that it is impossible to open a ventilator or draw a blind if you wish to remain in the place at all, and the consequence is that this valuable and interesting library is of little or no use to the public.

On the same story we have the India Museum, full

of treasures, many of them quite unique, and the whole of which would be lost if a fire broke out. The contents of this museum are worth at least £200,000, and a large portion of its contents could never be replaced.

I confess that I should like to represent all this to the Government of India, but I never met with any one as yet who could tell me where the seat of Government lies, or whether there is any tangible Government at all. I am told that the Duke of Argyll has something to do with it, but whether this is the case or not I have no means of ascertaining. In any case, however, he is probably far too much taken up with his royal alliance to trouble himself about such a vulgar and commonplace thing as the safety of the most valuable library of its kind in the world. But I appeal generally to the press to see to this matter, and to urge on the Government (if one can be found) the advisability of getting the library and museum down to the ground-floor, and sending the Indian Council and some other officials to the garrets. These gentlemen might perhaps object to this change; but they should consider that, in the event of their being cut off by a fire, their place could easily be supplied, and perhaps even with advantage to the State, while the contents of the library and museum would be an irretrievable loss.

SOME REMARKS IN CONCLUSION.

BEFORE bringing this book to a close, I wish particularly to impress on the mind of the reader that, in my remarks on the general effects of our government of India, I have been actuated by no carping or cavilling spirit, and by not even a shadow of personal hostility. The country has been a good one for me. I liked the people I lived amongst, and in all my intercourse with civilians and military civilians I do not think that I can look back upon a single point of contact with anything but feelings of entire satisfaction. In my chapter on Bribery I have added my testimony to that already existing as regards the individual worth of the Government officials, and I may again repeat that they are distinguished by a hard-working, conscientious zeal, to which I believe it would be impossible to find a parallel amongst any body of officials in the world. Thus far can I go, and these statements I wish to place very prominently before the reader. It is with real regret that I can go no further. When I turn from the mass of individual excellence to contemplate the collective result of our government on the welfare of the peoples of India, I am filled with despair, and with forebodings which I find it impossible to banish from the mind. The more anxiously I look into the state of affairs, with

the view of discovering some gleam of hope, the more depressing does the prospect become. Every point of our administration is permeated with an harmonious rottenness, which shows how jarring and discordant every system of government must be where the people have no share in the administration of affairs. We are perfectly acquainted, by the melancholy history of many European countries, with the terrible results that, sooner or later, must arise where the affairs of a nation are controlled by a limited section of it. All history is before us; but I venture to say that, unless some immediate reforms are instituted, the history of our rule in India, when it comes to be written thirty years hence, will exhibit an amount of evil far exceeding that effected by even the worst of European Governments; and it will do so because, to the evil of the people being entirely unrepresented, there is added the tremendous evil of a foreign Government, which not only is the cause of an enormous drain on the resources of a poverty-stricken country, but which, from an entire neglect of the methods necessary for the development of the resources of India, has been instrumental in checking the very foundation of progress. The proofs of this have hitherto been carefully hidden from the public here, but the mask must now be resolutely torn aside, and the errors of our administration boldly admitted. If we have the moral courage to do this, all may yet be well. If we have not the courage to do this, I distinctly warn the people of this country that, sooner or later, all will be lost. This may seem a sweeping assertion, and it will naturally be asked why, if these assertions be correct, the truth should have been so long withheld. The answer is extremely

simple. The truth has been so long withheld because no one is interested in declaring it, while many are interested in carefully hiding it from the public eye; and because, further, not one of those who have hitherto written on India has lived amongst the people, and witnessed the practical effects of our methods of government. I have looked through an immense number of volumes on India, from the writing of Holwell of the Black-hole (*who wrote in 1766*) *down to the most recent* works, and I have not been able to meet with or hear of a single work written by a private individual who had lived amongst the natives simply as a neighbour, and mixed up with them in the ordinary transactions of every-day life. So that it would appear that every fact tells against the Indians, and against the chances of the public here being made acquainted with the real wants of the country. The people have no voice in the management of their affairs; they have no press to represent their wants; they have not even the feeble support of books, which might reasonably have been expected to have been written by those who, like myself, have seen most of the state of things actually existing.

I have said that our Indian Government presents an unexampled instance of harmonious rottenness, and by this I mean a rottenness so complete that it is hardly possible to discover a sound thing connected with the administration. Our boasted law exhibits one long chain of rottenness, of which one of the strongest examples is to be seen at our own doors, where English judges attempt to administer justice through the medium of erroneous and insufficient translations, which are a mere fragment of Hindoo law literature. Our financial

system, at the best, is only just able to support itself by the sale of an intoxicating drug which is constantly fluctuating in value, and is at once the hope and terror of our Indian administrators. Our administration of the country is founded on an entire ignorance of its material condition, and of the wants and wishes of the people; and, in consequence of this ignorance, we have built costly bridges where we should have been content with ferry-boats; palatial barracks instead of cheap and temporary buildings; costly halls of justice instead of edifices suitable to the ways and means of the poorest country in the world. Having undertaken to spend the revenues of the people for their advantage, our administrators have entirely neglected duties that should have been carefully and conscientiously fulfilled; and amongst the numerous ways in which they have forfeited this trust is the scandalous expenditure of the funds of the people in creating a Cotton Department, the objects of which are injurious to India; a department which was only forced into existence by a base truckling to pressure brought to bear on the Government at home by English merchants. By a neglect of irrigation, by allowing the works of former rulers to fall into a state of decay, our Indian rulers, having undertaken to preserve life, and to look after all the interests of the people, have suffered, within the last ten years alone, millions to perish miserably by famine, to the loss of the State and to the general detriment of the country. By fallacious statements, set forward and signed by Government, they have led the people of England to suppose that India is in a prosperous state, and have thereby largely influenced people in this country to invest money in India at a rate which they, in all

probability, never would have done had they been aware of the real poverty of the country, and of the steady drain on its resources. And finally, by rendering our rule unpopular in India, they have largely increased the numerous dangers that would, in the event of war with a European power, assuredly surround and embarrass the people of England. All these things, and many more, have the administrators of India done, to the great loss and detriment of both the English and the Indians. But enough has now been said to indicate the dangers and evils of our administration; enough, I fear, to arouse the painful anxiety of all thinking men, and to warrant the conclusion that a more disgraceful spectacle than our attempt at civilisation in India has, considering our own state of advancement, never been exhibited since the world began. When I contemplate the state of things really existing, I am, as I have before said, full of despair. But when I come to compare it with the specious statements of Government, with its published declarations that "the State has now publicly announced its responsibility for the life of the least of its subjects," when I come to read of Lord Mayo's "golden chains of affection," and Mr. Grant Duff's comforting and eminently truthful assurances as to the way "fortune has conspicuously favoured us of late"—when I come to contrast these statements with the mournful truth, then I am filled with sentiments not, indeed, too harsh for the occasion, or too bitterly derisive, but to which I do not choose to give utterance.*

* When the history of this country in relation to India comes to be written, Mr. Grant Duff's speech of Feb. 24th, 1871, will be pointed to as presenting the very ugliest feature in the annals of Indian misrule. He, of course, will not be blamed, and his utterances will be regarded as the natural result of all those causes which have made such a speech possible, while he himself will merely be

APPENDIX TO VOL. II.

A.—Page 19.

We often hear a great deal about the advantages of instruction conveyed through the medium of English books and English literature. Instruction conveyed in this particular channel is, somehow or other, to inoculate the peoples of India with advanced ideas, and shake them up generally. Now it is, I believe, perfectly true that we have educated the people a little, and introduced some currents of thought and knowledge which are daily becoming wider and stronger. "See what it is to have English schoolmasters, and to have at least an infinitesimal fraction of the people capable of reading English ideas in the English language!" say the English instruction party. But whatever advancement there has been as yet has not come to the people through books written in any particular language, but through roads and railways, and by contact with numerous Englishmen, and notably English traders and settlers of various kinds.

B.—Page 45.

I am indebted to Dr. Forbes Watson for the following interesting communication on the value of raggee as food, and the constituents of the ash seem certainly to account for its superior nutritive value as compared with rice. The Bartchinhulla raggee was grown in the wet climate of Munzerabad, and the Hassan raggee in the, comparatively speaking, dry climate of the Mysore plains.

"The composition of the two samples of raggee from Bartchinhulla and Hassan is as follows:—

	Bartchinhulla Raggee.	Hassan Raggee.
Specific gravity	1·325	1·365
	Per cent.	Per cent.
Moisture	12·18	11·79
Nitrogenous matter—		
Gluten, albumen, &c.	5·78*	5·50†
Cellulose or woody fibre	4·55	3·89
Carbonous matter—		
a. Starch, gum, &c.	74·43	75·57
b. Fat or oil	0·69	0·85
Ash	2·37	2·40
	100·00	100·00

* Containing 0·915 of nitrogen. † Containing 0·870 of nitrogen.

"The analyses show that the differences between these two samples are not very considerable, the Bartchinhulla raggee containing only a trifle more of nitrogenous matter than the Hassan raggee.

"The position of raggee as food, when compared with some of the other Indian cereals, appears from the following table:—

Name of the grain	Wheat.	Bajree (*Penicillaria spicata*).	Jowaree (*Sorghum vulgare*).	Rice (*Oryza sativa*).	Raggee (*Eleusine corocana*).
Number of analysed samples	9	3	2	9	7
	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
Moisture	12·00	12·00	12·00	12·00	12·00
Nitrogenous matter—					
Gluten, albumen, &c.	13·42	10·27	9·38	7·40	6·53
Cellulose or woody fibre	2·69	1·49	2·23	·39	3·36
Carbonous matter—					
a. Starch, gum, &c.	68·81	71·01	72·68	78·97	74·44
b. Fat or oil	1·15	3·27	2·04	·57	1·17
Oxide of iron	·019	·026	·018	·008	·064
Potassa	·214	·405	·207	·066	·534
Soda	·392	·132	·135	·082	·019
Lime	·068	·064	·094	·026	·617
Magnesia	·241	·239	·260	·103	·163
Chlorine	·059	·058	·016	·016	·048
Phosphoric acid	·817	·678	·856	·287	·595
Sulphuric acid	·154	·105	·108	·080	·110
Silica	·029	·375	·088	·092	·334

"The order according to which these cereals are arranged is determined by the amount of nitrogenous matter they contain.

"Wheat stands pre-eminent, followed by bajree and jowaree, whilst rice and raggee occupy the lowest position. It will be observed that, in order to avoid the perturbations in the natural order which may arise from a varying amount of moisture in the grains, all the analyses have been reduced to a common moisture of twelve per cent., which is that to which all grains more or less approach. The numbers

inserted in the table are, therefore, true comparative numbers; and it was a comparison of this kind which induced me, in the first instance, to regard raggee as inferior to rice in nutritive value, the latter containing almost one per cent. more of nitrogenous matter than the raggee. And even the average amount of nitrogenous matter obtained from an analysis of seven different samples of raggee is by almost one per cent. higher than the amount contained in the specimens from Bartchinhulla and Hassan.

"The raggees grown at different places seem to show almost a greater latitude in composition than most of the other grains. Among the seven samples analysed the amount of nitrogenous matter varies between 5·49 and 9·24 per cent., so that, although the average is inferior to the rice, there are samples which may be richer in nitrogen than most of the rices.

"Still, this is only one aspect of the question. The amount of nitrogen is too often looked upon as the only exponent of the nutritive value. This is a very circumscribed view of the extremely complicated and many-sided problem of nutrition. Each of the normal components of the human body can become of paramount importance under certain conditions. The oxide of iron in the ash of the grains amounts only to some tenths of a per cent.; but still the regular supply even of this small quantity is essential for the proper performance of the vital functions, as it is indispensable in the formation of the blood-corpuscles.

"A dearth of iron would, therefore, be just as fatal as a want of the nitrogenous or carbonous, or other principal constituent of food. In judging, therefore, of the relative value of an article of food, the amounts of nitrogen and carbon cannot be relied on as the sole guide. The mineral constituents must be taken into account. At the time when I published my first analyses of raggee, these extended only to the organic compounds of the grain, and the position which I then assigned to it—guided only by the per-centage of nitrogen—has been borne out by the subsequent analyses. Since then, however, a detailed examination of the ash has been made, which yielded some remarkable conclusions. The raggee seems to be uncommonly rich in certain important mineral constituents. The amount of phosphoric acid in raggee is only lower by one-fourth than that in wheat, and it is more than twice as high as in rice.

"It contains eight times as much iron, and eight times as much potassa as rice, and, indeed, more of potassa than any of the other grains. It is, likewise, exceptionally rich in lime. The ash, composed, as it chiefly is, of the most important elements, amounts on the average to 2½ per cent. in raggee, as compared with 0·760 per cent. contained in rice.

"It is therefore possible, if not indeed probable, that the large amount and favourable composition of the raggee ash may more than counterbalance its inferiority in nitrogen, so that although, according to the nutritive standard hitherto in use, it must be put below rice, raggee may still be, on the whole, a food satisfying by itself more completely the numerous exigencies of an article of human diet than rice."

C.—Page 55.

When I entered Mysore the most perfect means of improving the breeds of cattle existed in the shape of magnificent herds of the well-known *Mysore stock, which belonged to the Indian Government.* For these herds separate grazing grounds were allotted, so that this valuable breed was kept quite distinct. From these herds were supplied cattle to draw field artillery, and it was owing to the possession of this breed that Hyder and Tippoo had such an advantage over some of their enemies. A good many years ago the Government—why and wherefore I never could discover—broke up this cattle establishment, and sold off the herds by auction. The whole of these valuable animals were thus dispersed all over India, and large numbers of them, from being removed to climates to which they were unaccustomed, perished entirely; and of this fact I became practically aware, for I attended the sales, and purchased a considerable number. Other planters did the same; but all the herds taken into the western parts of Mysore died off, and though the cattle went at very low rates, I never heard of any one failing to lose by them. A greater act of stupidity than the selling off of these cattle was never perpetrated even by the Indian Government. The bulls of these herds were magnificent animals, and from these herds the Government might, by a judicious distribution to the head-quarters of the various counties, have raised the standard of cattle from one end of the province to the other.

D.—Page 64.

The value of agricultural statistics is pretty well known in most civilised countries, but in India they have a value far beyond any country in the world. What has been the predominant feeling in Germany for many years past? It was, we all know, the feeling that there was a troublesome neighbour at hand who might cause their nation an immense loss both in lives and material prosperity. At last there came the days for which the Germans had been long preparing, and they turned the blow aside, or at least reduced its force to the smallest possible degree. Well, into India there is ever ready to

stalk an enemy which is as much a standing menace as was the power of France to its German neighbours. This is a mere truism, and it is equally a truism to say that the Indian enemy of gaunt famine is more horrible, and more fatal to life and material prosperity, than the arrival of any other kind of enemy. Now, when a danger of this sort is at hand, what are we to say when those who are responsible for the safety of India are found wanting—when they are found without intelligence, and without a single plan or system ready to march against an enemy which has come as often as the French went in former times into Germany, and which may come any day again? Now, there is no use in reverting to the past; there is no use asking the Indian Government to give an account of the millions that have perished, unless, indeed, we have recourse to formally committing the responsible heads of it for trial. It will be more to the purpose to look ahead, and at least obtain intelligence as to where, and to what extent, the Indian enemy will next break in. And here we should commence with an accurate account of agricultural production and food statistics. The Indian Government ought to ascertain the production most carefully all over India, and it should also make strict investigations as to grain stocks, and especially in any part of the country where there has been a single season of bad or indifferent crops. The collection of these statistics is an absolute necessity, and the base of all other precautions. Being, of course, the most important statistics in India, and, in fact, the only ones that are of vital importance, it is hardly to be expected that this suggestion will be for one moment attended to.* I do not expect it will; but, as I am writing on India, it is as well to mention the subject.

I may mention here, in concluding this note, a few very interesting and significant facts as regards the production of India—facts which seem to show very clearly that in India we must both turn on more water and keep down expenses. Says Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, in his paper on the "Commerce of India:"—

"For the past six months I have been studying the Administration Reports of the different Presidencies of India. From these and other sources I have myself worked out, as a rough outside estimate, the

* In case this suggestion should be attended to, it may be as well to point out the proper method for obtaining the agricultural statistics of India, as any other method than the following will be quite valueless, for reasons that must be apparent to any one acquainted with India. The basis of calculation, then, should be a rain or water basis. Take a fair average season for a base; carefully estimate your production, and carefully estimate your water from all sources. When these points are carefully ascertained, you may then with very fair accuracy, and at a very small expense, calculate the produce of future years by the rise or fall of the water-supply. If to this you add an annual estimation of grain exports, you will then have statistics sufficiently near for all practical purposes.

total gross produce of all cultivated land in the average good season of 1867-68. In that season I find that the Central Provinces, North-west Provinces, Madras Presidency, Bengal Presidency, and Oudh produced less than 40*s.* a head of their respective populations; the Punjaub produced less than 50*s.* a head; and the Bombay Presidency, with all the advantages of the late American war, railway loans, and three lines of railway converging into it, produced 100*s.* a head. But *even Bombay, I am afraid, on account of disastrous losses during* the last five years, is gradually lowering its level. The average of all British India will be a good deal under 50*s.* a head per annum, or say 1*s.* a head a week. If I put 80*s.* a head per annum, or 1*s.* 6*d.* per week per head, as the total production of all kinds (agricultural, manufacturing, mineral, &c.), I shall be, I cannot help thinking, guilty of exaggeration, of over-estimating."

This is, of course, as Mr. Dadabhai says, a rough outside estimate; and, indeed, in the absence of reliable agricultural statistics, it is impossible to expect accuracy; but I have no doubt the statements are sufficiently near the mark to prove, if exact proof is necessary, that India cannot support an expensive administration.

In the paper alluded to Mr. Dadabhai also calls attention to the following, which are alike discreditable to our humanity and to our credit as a nation of shopkeepers, who have hitherto at least had the merit of understanding what does and does not pay:—

In the year 1861, while British India exported to the United Kingdom alone 3,000,000 cwt. of rice, and to all parts of the world grain worth £3,500,000, the North-west Provinces lost a quarter of a million of lives, and millions' worth of property.

In the year 1866 the United Kingdom imported 2,000,000 cwt. of rice; and all parts of the world imported grain from British India worth about £5,250,000, while Orissa and Madras lost nearly a million of lives, and millions' worth of property.

Again, in the last two years there were lost a million of lives, while the export of rice to the United Kingdom has been 4.000,000 cwt. in 1868, and about as much in 1869, and of grain to all parts of the world worth £2,600,000. No wonder that Mr. Dadabhai exclaimed, *"Good God! when will this end?" I think I can tell when this* state of things will end. It will end when the peoples of India are represented in this country, or it will end when those who take upon themselves to govern India are distinctly told that they are responsible for the lives of their subjects, and that loss of life will be followed by a summons to the bar of the House of Commons, and an immediate trial.

The reader will naturally point to want of communication as a cause of this enormous loss, and think that extended communications,

in the shape of roads and railways, would be the natural remedy. Here I must differ considerably from those inclined to take this view. Extended road and railway communications * might certainly prove to be a partial remedy; but they can never be *the* remedy. A remedy of any sort is, of course, better than nothing; but *the* remedy is irrigation and water communication. The whole of India should be placed clean beyond the reach of famine. It is the duty of a true statesman not to be contented with patchwork, but to take a long look forward, and select the most permanent base. He should look forward to a time when we may be turned out of India, when railway communications may be snapped asunder, and to a time when, from various causes, it may not be possible by any means to carry food to a starving population. If he does not do that, he is not a statesman, but what most of our Indian governors are at present.

In concluding these observations, I may be allowed to offer a few remarks on irrigation, and a few words of caution. What we have now principally to dread is that Government, being rudely awakened from the culpable and incomprehensible stupor of past years, will immediately rush into some desperate act of irrigation which will more than rival all the blunders of our miserable administration. Since I commenced this book the Government have granted a Parliamentary Committee, and when John Bull learns the real state of the case, he will, if his attention be not directed to something nearer home, get very angry, and seize his Indian factors by the throat. I can imagine the good man shaking with rage when he comes to estimate the quantity of cotton prints he might have sold to the millions that his agents have suffered to perish. Now this may, no doubt, be a matter for sincere regret; but I warn John Bull that if he makes too great a fuss his Indian factors will quite lose their heads, and

* In admitting that railroads might ever prove a remedy for famines, I have some doubts as to whether I am not conceding too much. At present it may be rather said that the tendencies of railways are to be causes rather than mitigators of famines. Their tendency is to cause the production, not of articles of food, but of articles of export which cannot be eaten. Hitherto we have had no means of knowing that railways have any influence at all in the matter of famines. In fact, famine seems determined to exhibit its profound contempt for railways. Was there no railway in the North-west Provinces? Was there none at all near Rajpootana? If we place the map and our famine statistics side by side, we can form at least some notions on the subject. But there is hardly a man in the Indian Government who has ever thought of asking what the powers of a single line of railway are in the way of contending with famine. I feel inclined to attack this subject a little further, but, after all, it is hardly worth while. Some are of opinion that our Indian governors have no knowledge of arithmetic. Whether this is really the case or not I have no means of ascertaining; but it is certain that they are entirely incapable of applying it to any subject of practical importance.

probably lay out money so fast, that much of it will be entirely lost, and much more be laid on in the wrong direction; for, seeing very plainly that this result is very likely to ensue, I deem it worth while to lay down what may be called the natural sequence of progress in irrigation.

A general notion seems to prevail, both in and out of India, that to do anything in the way of irrigation at all, you must do something great and in the lump as it were—that you must divert some mighty river, carry it in the shape of a canal through hundreds of miles of country, and so at once provide carriage and irrigation. Now, for a beginning, this is a very fatal notion; and it is a fatal notion for a beginning, because people are long in making up their minds as to where to set to work, long in surveying the ground and in executing the work, and because it is impossible to find money for a large number of gigantic works all at once. When we look back on the history of our Irrigation Report-writing, it is not difficult to see that this notion of doing something great is at the bottom of half the difficulties that have been made. We will not here take any account of the fifty years of inefficient management which allowed the works of former rulers to fall into disrepair, but we will glance at matters since 1858, when our Indian rulers really roused themselves and commenced, not to act, but to write. How much they wrote, Heaven knows; but they had only been writing for three years when they were overtaken by the famine of 1861. This really roused the authorities, and they at once took pen again, and commenced a new Blue Book, which they were still busy finishing when they were overtaken by the Orissa famine which every one has heard of. To be hurried on in this way by famines seemed really too bad, and the people in England were at last beginning to think that the want of water was no longer to be tolerated. They caused the Government in India again to take to its paper; and now they seemed really to be getting on; for when Lord Cranbourne (23rd of August, 1866) said he was ready to supply funds, if the Indian Government would supply plans, he was told (Dec. 7th, 1866) that they would be quite ready in two or three years. But before the two or three years were over, down came the Rajpootana famine, which seems, from our apparently getting used to the notion of getting rid of the population, to have met with very little notice in this country. Now, in looking at this subject, one thing stands out very prominently, and that is that every one seems to think that to make a beginning you must necessarily commence with gigantic works of some sort. This is the notion that seems to have stopped the way, and it is with the view of removing this stoppage that I mean to give, as briefly as possible, what I call the natural sequence of irrigation works.

The first principle of irrigation to be laid down, and firmly driven into the British skull, is the general principle that famine is a common foe against which people are bound to serve, just as the Germans are bound to serve for the common defence of their country. If the Britisher is prepared to recognise this principle, he will find all that can be said about irrigation in the following sentences. If he is not prepared to recognise it, he should clear out of India altogether, and hand it over to some power who is prepared to develop the country on the only principles that are practically applicable.

I will now assume that the principle I have started with has been adopted, and the next step is to lay down as clearly as possible the true method of extending irrigation. Now, I am not going to take all India, for India is a very wide place; and what I am going to suggest now will, I know, be unsuitable to many parts of it.* I will, therefore, take the single province of Mysore, with its four millions of inhabitants, and suppose that I have been ordered by Government to develop the water resources of that country. If the reader will look at the map, he will see that the river Hemavutty takes its rise in the western frontier, and flows along the western portion of the province till it joins the Cauvery, which, rising in Coorg, finds its way to the eastern shores of India. Keeping the Hemavutty in our mind's eye, we will now take a view of the Mysore country some forty or fifty miles to the east. Ascending one of the minor hills in the interior of the province, we take a glass, scan the country, and observe the sequence of irriguous progression. We see that civilisation has evidently commenced at those points where, by throwing a dam or earthwork across the bottom of a valley, the greatest quantities of water can be stored. Close to the earthwork in question a village has been formed, which has evidently in the course of time overflowed. These detachments of the village have gone higher up the valley, thrown up another earthwork, and started another village, which has

* In Guzerat, for instance, to extend the tank system could be of no use, as in many parts of the country the rainfall is insufficient to fill the tanks already existing. Then you must divert rivers, which could readily be done. But the general principle as to doing something still holds good, and the first thing to be done in Guzerat is to erect temporary water-works as cheaply as possible, and introduce your canals afterwards. In other parts of the country the readiest way of doing something is by digging wells. Here I conceive there is very great room for improvement in the way of introducing some rough, cheap kind of pump or means for raising water. But in every district of India methods of irrigation will have to be specially modified to suit the country. The thing of all others to be done is to tell the district officials not to set to work at Report-writing. They should be told to push on small irrigation works at once, without sending in any Reports till perhaps they are removed to another part of the country. If you commence with the pen, you will get in plenty of writing, but no water.

in turn overflowed, and sent out detachments, until a point has been reached so high that a tank, if made, would, from there being little land above it, have but a small chance of ever being filled. Now, how were all these tanks made? Well, they were simply made by the chief of the district, or the sovereign power, turning out the whole body of the population whenever an extension of irrigation was found advisable. To commence, then, my extension of irrigation, I would set to work in the same way, and so add to the minor irrigation works all over the province, and with the least possible delay. These petty works, however, are merely to be skirmishers of the scheme—very important skirmishers, no doubt, but requiring support on a grand scale. While these works were being started, we might then turn our attention to the Hemavutty, and see if that river, or a large portion of it, could not be diverted towards the interior of the province, and made to do duty both in the way of transport and irrigation. This work would, of course, require a long time for careful examination, and, the examination being completed, a long time for execution; but during all this time we should not be standing still, but be adding largely to the resources of the province by our minor works. The execution of the large work would, of course, have to be carried out by hired labourers, and in the ordinary way; but I would not pay a shilling towards the minor ones, because the benefits would be absorbed by the villagers who made the dam, and because the work could be executed without taking them from their homes, or subjecting them to any hardship whatever.

I anticipate that some will object to this scheme as arbitrary and barbarous; but it is far more barbarous, remember, to let the people perish by the million. Others might object to it because it would make our rule unpopular. Those who would be inclined to argue thus know little of the native ideas regarding tanks. They would grumble a little at first; but when the work was once done they would be the first to praise the Government. The very name of a tank seems something sacred, and it seems to them a work of charity even to make a tank which is to benefit oneself alone. I recollect once making a tank, or rather repairing one that had apparently been deserted for centuries. This tank was to supply my nursery and house and pulper. When the work was being executed, a hill-man came to see me, and, looking at the work with considerable satisfaction, his first observation was, "This is a dhurma kelser," or "work of virtue."

E.—Page 105.

It should be mentioned that when the charcoal-tree dies—which it is very apt to do—the coffee-plants under it die too. But the plants

do not die if the charcoal-tree is cut down when full of life. The coffee also dies out under the yella-gud tree when the tree dies. The moment I have obtained the botanical names for my list of good, indifferent, and injurious trees, I will publish them in the Indian journals.

F.—Page 129.

I find that I have omitted to mention a very important caution as regards coffee-manuring: I mean the danger of over-stimulating poor land, and so producing such a heavy crop as to dry up the tree, and render it more liable to the attacks of insects. The amount of manure should be carefully regulated on any given estate in accordance with the quality of the soil, and very heavy manuring should be reserved for the heaviest and richest soil, which can stand large demands on it, and yet spare enough force to keep the tree green and fresh.

Another point that should have been added to those I have suggested for experiment is, What is the cheapest source of nitrogen? Is the nitrate of potash, or sulphate of ammonia, or rape-dust the cheapest source of nitrogen? I may mention that Professor Anderson suggested that rape-dust would probably answer best; but in this matter we must be guided by a number of considerations, and it seems sufficiently obvious that a cheap source of nitrogen in one district might be a very dear one in another.

G.—Page 327.

As a kind of preface to the case I am now going to quote from Professor Goldstücker's interesting paper, I had intended offering some general remarks on the Hindoo law of succession, which would enable the English reader to comprehend the points in dispute more readily than he can possibly do at present. I had intended, in other words, to give him at least a general idea of what is meant by a divided and an undivided Hindoo family, and, having started from that rudimentary base, to have indicated the leading principles of inheritance and succession.

With that intention, I took a determined plunge into the jungle of Hindoo law as far as it has been ascertained by us. At first, things seemed simple enough, and would no doubt have been found to be so throughout, had this just and far-seeing nation ever thought it expedient that those who administer the laws of the Hindoos should be forced into learning the language (Sanscrit) in which these laws are written. Nothing could seem to be more natural and simple than the way those laws were built up. First of all, there is the Code of Manu,

and subsequently we come to that of Yâjnavalkya. Then we have the codes of numerous legislators, which are, in point of time, either between or posterior to these great authorities. Following on all this, we have a number of commentaries and digests for the elucidation of the obscure texts of the ancient writers, and which form a guide to the decisions of cases that were not thought of when the original books were composed. And these commentaries and digests, from being latest in time, have naturally become first in authority, because to the original laws they added all that we mean when we talk of judge-made law. This was very simple and very natural; and it was equally natural that, considering the numerous countries of which India is composed, and which in former times were practically as remote from one another as we are from the heart of Asia, developments of the original laws should spring up in various parts of the great peninsula. Hence a number of law-schools, which Mr. Grady divides into five, though he is of opinion that to these may be added a sixth school, which would comprise Canara and Malabar. Between four out of these five great schools there is not thought to be very much difference; but the fifth—the school of Bengal—differs from the others as regards the law of inheritance, and in several important respects. Now, it is this immense body of law that we have undertaken to administer through the medium of judges who, not knowing Sanscrit, are obliged to found their decisions on imperfect translations of a mere fragment of Hindoo law literature. Many of these decisions, and especially those given by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, have been turned into precedents; and, as some of the decisions in question have, as we shall see, not been founded on a correct interpretation of the laws as they apply to the various parts of India, we find ourselves, at our very first approaches to Hindoo law, involved in an inextricable jungle.* And what a jungle! At the very contemplation of it I am reminded of an anecdote which I once

* Mr. Prichard (*vide* the *Asiatic* newspaper of June 15th, 1870), in his remarks on Professor Goldstücker's paper, says—"I can fully endorse all that Dr. Goldstücker has said as to the exceeding haziness that hangs about the translations of the Hindoo law authorities that are at our disposal, and the unsatisfactory position which they occupy as text-books of Hindoo law. In cases that arise, the only source that practitioners can have is to confine themselves to the precedents of the Privy Council Reports; and, when once it is necessary to leave that groove and to search for authority on some point upon which these precedents are silent, we become lost in what can only be termed a maze. It would be most desirable, if it could be done, that a complete revision should be made of the whole of the books which we now have, or rather, fragments of books. We cannot depend on the translations we have of those books. *We find that a great many of the precedents of Hindoo law which we have been in the habit of looking on as settled Hindoo law are altogether erroneous, and leading us astray; and the whole thing is in a most unsatisfactory state.*

thought to be an ingenious joke, but which now, from a Hindoo point of view, seems to bear a melancholy air of probability about it. Of the various theories as regards our nation which existed in the minds of the natives, the most favourite was the following. It was thought that our bodies were tenanted by the souls of Brahmins who, when in this world, had committed crimes which no ordinary transmigration could possibly expiate, and that, as the climax of all punishment, their souls had been introduced into the bodies of Englishmen, who were destined to be a plague both to themselves and to the whole Hindoo race. To those who do not believe in the transmigration of souls, this conclusion would, of course, be absurd; but to those who do believe in such transmigrations, the supposition, I confess, would be far from untenable, and to the native mind must seem daily more probable, as the evils of our administration become more glaringly apparent. But I must return to my subject. Finding, then, that the complications of our Privy Council judge-made law (the decision I am about to quote has been quoted twice in Mr. Grady's "Manual of Hindoo Law") have been added to the complications of inadequate, untrustworthy, and often colliding translations; and, being totally unable to see my way towards giving anything approaching to a succinct and accurate account of the features of Hindoo succession law, I proceed at once to quote Professor Goldstücker's opinion on the Shivaganga case. Before, however, commencing to quote the case, I may mention that an undivided Hindoo family means a family living, as it were, under one roof on a patriarchal system; and that a divided Hindoo family is one that is either partially or wholly separated, and the common property shared after the manner laid down by law. When such a separation takes place, the law regulating the division of ancestral property is, generally speaking, different from that of the law affecting what is called self-acquired property.

"Yet how much even judges of the highest standing are liable to err, if, for a knowledge of the positive Hindu law, they substitute that which, from an English point of view, may appear to be the most logical and faultless reasoning, I will show by the instance of a Privy Council judgment which, if relied upon as a precedent, would in one of its vital points materially alter the whole Hindu law of inheritance.

"The judgment I am here alluding to is that of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council upon the appeal of Kattama Nanchear *v.* the Rajah of Shivaganga, from the Sudder Devanny Adawlut at Madras, delivered 30th November, 1863.

"The object of the litigation was the Zemindary of Shivaganga, situated in the Madras Presidency. Its last owner, who was in undisputed possession of it, had died in 1829, leaving no male issue, but

several wives by whom he had daughters; and the daughter of one of those wives was the appellant in the case; for the Sudder Court at Madras had decided against her claims, and pronounced in favour of the respondent, a nephew of the deceased, who at the time of the appeal was in possession of the Zemindary.

"The issues of the case, as stated in the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, were these:—

"1. Were Gaurivallabha (the deceased Rajah) and his brother (for the son of the latter was the respondent, the Rajah in possession) undivided in estate, or had a partition taken place between them?

"2. If they were undivided, was the Zemindary the self-acquired and separate property of Guarivallabha (the deceased Rajah)?

"3. What is the course of succession according to the Hindu law of the south of India of such an acquisition, where the family is in other respects an undivided family?

"The first of these questions the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council answered in the sense that the deceased Rajah and his brother were *undivided* in estate; and, this being a question of fact, we have simply to accept their Lordships' finding.

"In regard to the second question, the judgment held that the Zemindary was not the ancestral, but the self-acquired and separate property of the late Rajah; and this, too, being a question of fact, no remark has to be added to it.

"Concerning the third, however, which is a question of law, the judgment went on to say that according to the law in the south of India, as affecting members of an undivided family, the Zemindary would have passed to the nephew had it been ancestral property; but, being self-acquired property, the daughter of one of the widows—the appellant in the case—was entitled to it.

"Now, in the first place, I must here observe that this judgment is exclusively based on what their Lordships consider to be the law of the Mitâksharâ. That the Mitâksharâ is *one* of the law authorities in the south of India is unquestionable; but it is likewise an undisputed fact that it is not the *primary* authority in that part of India. As before stated, the Mitâksharâ, which is merely a running commentary on the text of Yâjnavalkya, is incomplete in many respects; and, amongst the later works which enlarged on it, and supplied its defects, the digests called Smrti-chandrikâ and Vyavahâra Mâdhavîya became the chief authorities in the south. At the time when the Shivaganya case was pending, Mr. Burnell's translation of the Mâdhavîya did not exist, nor even the imperfect version of the Smrti-chandrikâ by Mr. Kristnasvamy Tyer. These works were

then accessible only as Sanscrit MSS. Hence not so much as an allusion to them occurs in the judgment of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council; and while it is not denied that the respondent would have a right to have his claims dealt with according to the recognised *primary* law of his country, we here meet with the anomalous circumstance that they were decided upon according to what in the south of India is only considered as a secondary course of law.

"And that this distinction is not merely a fortuitous one is proved by the case itself. For there is no text in the Mitâkshara which clearly provides for it, whereas there are passages in the *Smriti-chandrikâ* and the *Mâdhaviya* which, I have no doubt, would have proved to their Lordships' mind that the second question they had raised was irrelevant to the case, and that their final decision was even contrary to the spirit of the law of the Mitâksharâ itself.

"But as they were not acquainted with the two digests which, while in perfect accordance with the Mitâksharâ, elucidate its obscurities, their Lordships supplied the apparent defect of the Mitâksharâ with arguments which, from a European point of reasoning, might bear out the conclusion at which they arrived, but from a Hindu point of view do not.

"I mentioned before that the family of the appellant and the respondent were admittedly undivided in estate. Yet in a family of *this* description the judgment of the Judicial Committee raised the question as to what was in it, ancestral and self-acquired property. Such a question, however, can never occur in an *undivided* family, so long as it remains undivided, which was here the case. The translated text of the Mitâksharâ itself is silent on the law of succession in reference to an undivided family, for the text of Yâjnavalkya, which the commentary follows verse by verse, does not deal with it; and in the first section of its second chapter, which treats of the right of widows to inherit in default of male issue, and on which the judgment in this case is exclusively based, not a single word is stated affecting the rights of any member of an undivided family. On the other hand, the Vyavahâra-Mâdhavîya, and especially the *Smrti-chandrikâ*, very distinctly regulate the succession rights in an undivided family: it results from them that only a male member of such a family can be heir, and that *so long as the family remains undivided*, the whole of the property, whether ancestral or self-acquired, is vested in him.* The reasons of such a law are likewise clear. In an undivided family the principal religious duties are undivided, and the benefits, therefore, to be bestowed on the soul of the deceased ancestor—benefits on which

* The question, therefore, what is ancestral and what is self-acquired property, can only occur at the time when division takes place.

the right of succession rests—can be conferred only by one single member of the family, its actual head.

"*Not having before them this distinct law which is quite in harmony with the law of Manu and all other legislators, and being left in doubts by a section of the Mitâkshará, which, having nothing whatever to do with the case in question, could of course not enlighten them, the Lords of the Judicial Committee laid down a perfectly novel proposition, which, if adopted, would alter the basis of the whole Hindu law.*

"'There are two principles,' the judgment says, "on which the rule of succession, according to the Hindu law, appears to depend: the first is that which determines the right to offer the funeral oblation, and the degree in which the person making the offering is supposed to minister to the spiritual benefit of the deceased; the other is an assumed right of survivorship.'

"But the fact is, that there is only *one* principle, that stated by the Report in the first proposition, and that the second does not exist at all. Of the first, Sir W. Jones had already said that it contains the key to the *whole* Hindu law of inheritance; and even the single text which the judgment adduces in support of its theory of a right of survivorship, had it been quoted in full and with the remarks attached to it by the Smrti-chandriká, would have shown that no such right can be inferred from it.

"The judgment further asks:—'If the first of these principles (the spiritual principle) were the only one involved, it would not be easy to see why the widow's right of inheritance should not extend to her husband's share in an undivided estate.'

"This question is perfectly pertinent, but it is one of the great points of difference between the Dâyabhâga and the Mitâkshará schools. The former, assuming that under any conditions the widow would confer the greatest spiritual benefits on the soul of a deceased husband, provided he leaves no male issue, in consequence rules that, in such an emergency, she is *always* entitled to succeed to the property of her husband, whether the latter be divided or not. The Mitâkshará school, on the contrary, not admitting this superior spiritual power of a widow in an *undivided family*, exclude her from the position she holds in the Dâyabhâga school. But the Shivaganza case fell under the law of the Mitâkshará school, and it is not for *us* to decide whether the view of the latter regarding the *spiritual* power of a wife is, or is not, more correct than that of the Dâyabhâga school.

"In short, 'there being no positive text governing the case before the Judicial Committee'—simply because their Lordships could not refer to the very law authorities conformably to which alone the case should have been decided—they relied on an irrelevant text of the

held up as an example of what politicians are sure to be whenever they deem themselves safe from being called to account by the representatives of the people. The Mr. Grant Duffs, then, are not the causes, but merely the signs, of that decay which, indeed, they may slightly accelerate, but for which they are not responsible. They resemble very exactly those insects which we find working in the centre of sickly trees—insects which hasten by a few degrees the final crash, but which never would have existed, or have had the slightest effect, had the state of the tree not provided them with a fitting home. Regarding, then, Mr. Grant Duff in his true position of a political "borer" (the borer, I may remind the reader, is an insect commonly found in sickly coffee-trees, whose end it considerably hastens), let us glance for one moment at the two most prominent signs of Indian decay as exemplified in his speech on the Indian Budget. Of these two points I am somewhat at a loss as to fixing the proper precedence—at a loss whether to attach most importance to his eminently truthful statement regarding the condition of India for the last two years, or to the desire shown to truckle to Manchester, Macclesfield, and Cheshire. We will, however, commence with the first-named point, as, if not the most important circumstance in the speech in question, it is at least the most glaring.

"In some respects," said Mr. Grant Duff, "fortune has conspicuously favoured us of late, for we have not during the last two years suffered from any of those sudden and overpowering physical disasters which so often confound human sagacity in India. Bad seasons there have been, as I have already said before, *but nothing sudden or overpowering like the Orissa drought, or the cyclones and inundations of some former years.*" Let us now contrast this grossly fallacious statement with the real, the horrible, and the heart-rending truth—so horrible, indeed, that it is difficult to believe that, in this nineteenth century, men are to be found, even amongst our Indian rulers, who can contemplate these awful pictures with unshaken composure, and hide them carefully from the only power that can possibly provide precautions against the recurrence of similar contingencies. With the view, then, of glancing at the way "fortune has conspicuously favoured us of late," let us take down the last volume of Indian famine literature. Well, shortly and simply, it tells of a famine that is known by the name of the Rajputana famine. This famine, it is true, commenced a little outside of Mr. Grant Duff's two years, having fairly set in in September, 1868; but what is termed, in Major Tyrwhitt's Report, "the second advent," only commenced in September, 1869, and seems to have continued up towards the close of last year. The most recent and careful computations make the total loss up to at least a million of lives. Major Tyrwhitt's picture—the bare official picture—of things in Thur and Parker (British territory) is really awful. "Such a season," says this officer, "*as that of 1869 is not in* the memory of the oldest inhabitant of Thur, both as to ruin and calamity of various kinds, and it will be for ever memorable. Hundreds and hundreds of the poor people came in dreadfully emaciated, and hundreds through exhaustion fell, and where they fell they died, there to be devoured by the birds, jackals, wild dogs, &c." To the general reader this picture may seem sufficiently complete and sufficiently awful; but no one acquainted with the tender mercies of vultures, jackals, and wild dogs, can fail to perceive that this must have been far short of the real truth, and that the sequence should have been, "they fell, they were devoured, and died." To die first of all before the vulture and the hawk had torn the eye from the socket, or the wolves and jackals commenced their attack on the helpless and dying wretches, must have been a luxury reserved for few indeed of the hundreds, or perhaps thousands, who thus miserably perished.

But it is time now to turn from this sickening picture to the second point I selected for consideration—the desire shown to truckle to the shopkeeping

interests of England. To the gentlemen of Manchester Mr. Grant Duff blandly turns, and informs them that "we have sent out six more cotton gardeners, and are enlarging the area of our experiments in the production of this most important article." The men of Macclesfield are assured that their silk-production interests shall not be neglected. "As little, too," continues Mr. Grant Duff, "have we failed to play into the hands of my hon. friend the member for Cheshire, who wants his constituents to have facilities for giving English salt a fair chance of competing with the cheap salts of Bombay and Madras." And was there no one to represent the people of Thur and Parker, or of those central provinces of Rajpootana which enjoy the blessings of British rule—no one to represent the crying wants of those who had passed through this terrible famine? There was no one, and the ministers of England take the money of the people of India, and spend it in behalf of the shopkeeping interests of their country. The money they have thus spent would not, indeed, have saved many lives—perhaps not more than a few thousand; but for as many lives as the money would have saved, for so many are our ministers distinctly answerable. They have said "that the Government now holds itself answerable for the lives of the least of its subjects," and so they stand condemned out of their own mouths IF BY ANY MEANS life could have been saved. But nothing was done, and to use the words of Mr. Robson, the Scotch missionary at Ajmere, "about a million of our fellow-men have perished without anything having been done for their rescue by the only power that could have done anything." To crown all this, it may be added that when the distress prevailed in Lancashire the native states of Rajpootana contributed about £5,000, that they again subscribed largely to save our dying subjects in Orissa, and that, when famine visited these states, the paramount power simply told them to help themselves. In all this I plainly see the beginning of the end, and I may just remind the people of England that they have lent, on the security of Indian revenues, one hundred and eighty millions sterling.

Mitâkshará, and in applying the law of succession which is applicable only to a divided family, to an undivided one, even mistook this text itself.

"That this judgment, if relied upon as an authoritative interpretation of the Hindu law, would introduce a second principle, hitherto unknown, into the Hindu right of inheritance, and would entirely alter this law so far as undivided Hindu families are concerned, requires no further remark. But it seems equally clear that such a result could have never occurred if the Lords of the Judicial Committee had been in possession of more law texts than at the time were accessible to them."

THE END

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